

ETHNOGRAPHIC DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATIONS OF
MARRIAGE IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN TRANSNATIONAL SPACES OF SOUTH KOREA

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To my parents and my brother

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ABSTRACT

Recent sociolinguistic research on multilingualism and identities in the context of globalization has recognized the transnational nature of discourses and semiotic resources that flow beyond national and cultural boundaries. In the context of South Korea, significant amount of interests across different disciplines has explored a specific category of multilingualism: multicultural families with Korean men and immigrant women. Despite the extensive societal attention to the phenomenon, no sociolinguistic research has explored the role language plays in discourses that suppresses, regulates, or promotes multilingualism and the gendered discourses about marriage immigrant women's second language socialization.

Given the crucial role of language in creating public image of immigrants, it is important to understand what types of ideologies are reinforced regarding marriage immigrant women in different levels of discourses. Uncovering the underlying ideologies in discourses will foreground struggles immigrant women undergo and eventually help bring social changes. To this aim, this dissertation investigates the language ideologies in representations of marriage immigrant women in policy, media, and women's self-representations through an ethnographic approach. Drawing upon the perspectives of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and post-structuralist approach to the analysis of representation, this dissertation primarily examines discourses in the Multicultural Families Support Act, the known television program on marriage immigrants 'Love in Asia,' and interactions among marriage immigrant women at a Korean as a Second Language class.

The analyses in this dissertation illustrate how policy and media discourses reproduce integrationist ideologies on immigrants and patriarchal gender ideologies on immigrant women. Self-representations of the women in this study, on the other hand, show the complex, dynamic,

diverse, and even contradictory nature of their identities that interact with different elements of their identities and contexts. The women of this study create discursive spaces to exercise agency in performing, negotiating, resisting, and even challenging imposed ideologies by reconstructing themselves as transnationals. Thus, this dissertation demonstrates how a better understanding of transnational women's identities and second language socialization can be achieved through examining the multifaceted nature of their identities and illuminating their voices in response to surrounding discourses.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Adapted from system developed by Gail Jefferson (see J. M. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; ten Have, 2007)

[point of overlap onset
]	point of overlap ending
=	no gap (latching)
(.5)	time pause
(.)	untimed micropause
:	prolongation of the immediately prior sound
--	sharp cut-off of an utterance
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
ˊ	slightly rising intonation
↑	shift into higher pitch
↓	shift into lower pitch
<u>talk</u>	emphasized speech
TALK	loud sounds
°talk°	quieter sound
<talk>	slowing down
>talk<	speeding up
.hhh	audible inbreath
hhh	audible outbreath

ta(h)lk	within-speech aspiration, possibly laughter
()	unintelligible speech to transcriber
(talk)	dubious hearings or speaker identifications
(())	transcriber's additional explanations or descriptions

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE INTERLINEAR GLOSS

APP	Apperceptive sentence-type suffix
DC	Declarative sentence-type suffix
DEF	Deferential speech level
DM	Discourse marker
FUT	Future, Prospective
HEARSAY	Hearsay marker
HON	Honorific
INT	Intimate speech level
NOM	Nominalizer
OBJ	Object marker
PL	Plural suffix
PLN	Plain speech level
POL	Polite speech level
PRO	Progressive
PRE	Present tense
PST	Past tense
Q	Question particle
QT	Quotative particle
RET	Retrospective
RL	Relativiser suffix
SUB	Subject marker
SUP	Suppositive mood suffix

TOP

Topic marker

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.0. Objectives

As globalization has increased the flow and mobility of semiotic resources and discourses, recent studies in sociolinguistics have destabilized and problematized cultural and national boundaries in research on multilingualism (Blommaert, 2003, 2010; Heller, 2010; Higgins, 2011; Kramsch, 2012), placing people and symbolic resources in new in-between or hybrid spaces. In exploring fluid, hybrid, and dynamic uses of language varieties and identities in globalized multilingual spaces, the concept of transnationalism (Vertovec, 2009) is often used by sociolinguists. Transnationals affiliate with more than one community of practice, in that their daily multilingual practices utilize their home cultures and languages as well as those of their new communities. Their lives contrast to the modernist perspective, which is characterized by the modern era of capitalism, market economy, industrialization, birth of nation-state, and bounding culture and language to national and geographic boundaries. The contemporary era, which Giddens (1991) calls *late modernity*, which is continuation of capitalist modernization in the free market of the world, so-called neoliberal globalization; however, is characterized by the fluidity and multiplicity of transnational individuals and organizations who constantly move between different identities as well as national boundaries.

Aligning with these perspectives, this dissertation aims to contribute to the existing body of literature in transnationalism and gendered second language socialization in the context of globalization within South Korea. By examining policy and media discourses, the presented analyses will explicate the underlying ideologies in different levels of discourse on multiculturalism and gendered second language socialization of marriage immigrant women. This study also focuses on the marriage immigrant women's self-representations and identity

constructions in transnational spaces of Korea through microanalysis of the women's conversational interactions in order to investigate to what extent and how they respond to the larger discourses surrounding them.

Drawing on the notion of transnationalism (Vertovec, 2009), my dissertation adopts the late-modern perspectives to define 'multiculturalism' in which symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) flows across the nation-state borders, specific language varieties function particular goals at different levels of discourses, and in-between and hybrid identities are created. The term "multiculturalism" or "multicultural" in Korea's Multicultural Families Support Act and policy discourse, on the other hand, has a unique meaning as it relates to the context of South Korea. The general meaning of the term *damunhwa* ('multiculture') refers to "the phenomenon of increasing ethnic diversity in Korea" (Kim; 2010, p. 103), but recent media and policy discourse mainly refers 'multicultural' to "migrant workers and migrant brides as well as multicultural families in Korea" (p.107) since 2006, when it began to frequently appear in social discourses including media and academia. It was when the Korean government shifted its policy on migrant workers and foreigners from "immigrant control" to "immigrant integration" with a stronger focus on their fair treatment, human rights protection, and institutional legitimacy (p. 115). Prior to 2011, the specific definition of *damunhwa kajeong* ('multicultural family') in policy exclusively referred to families formed between Korean nationals by birth and foreign spouses with a spouse visa (*kyeolhon iminja*) or naturalized through marriage (*honin kwuihwaja*). In 2011, the policy broadened its scope to include families of naturalized citizens. Families formed between visa holders, however, are still excluded in the policy discourse. The following chapters will further elaborate on the use of the term 'multiculturalism' and their actual meaning in policy and media discourses of South Korea.

Another important term in this dissertation is “marriage immigrant women.” The policy discourse refers to the migrant spouse in a “multicultural family” by a gender-neutral term “marriage immigrant” (*kyeolhon iminja*) while the media discourses (e.g., newspaper, television programs, etc.) frequently label them as “marriage immigrant women” (*kyeolhon imin yeoseong/kyeolhon iju yeoseong*). This dissertation adopts the term “marriage immigrant women” as an umbrella term to refer to the women who are married to Korean citizen men regardless of the women’s naturalization or visa status. Despite the potential marginalization the term may enunciate and the possibility to eradicate the transnational nature of their lives, I use it for several reasons. First, “marriage immigrants” is the legal status of the women and thus an official term to refer to them in different social discourses. The participants of this dissertation are also enrolled at the Multicultural Families Support Center as “marriage immigrants” in the local community to receive benefits and support from the government. Second, the public also use the term, which indicates that the term itself is a useful resource that represents hegemonic ideologies about the women. Lastly, the participants of this study used the term to refer to themselves, indicating the impact of the term within their self-representations. I will refer to them as “marriage immigrant women” instead of “marriage immigrants” to foreground the gendered nature of discourses on marriage immigrants in Korea.

1.1. Background Context: ‘Marriage Immigrant Women’ in Korea

Among transnational spaces in Korea, this dissertation focuses on marriage immigrant women. According to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family of Korea (MOGEF, www.mogef.go.kr), approximately 7.7 percent of marriages in Korea involved foreign spouses in 2014. More specifically, 5.3 percent of marriages in Korea were between Korean men and

foreign women, and 2.3 percent were between Korean women and foreign men. In 2015, approximately 305,000 foreign spouses were living in Korea, about 253,000 of whom were women. Foreign women who are married to Korean men are categorized into three groups depending on their immigration status: *kyeolhon iminja* ('marriage immigrants') who hold a spouse visa, *honin kwihwaja* ('naturalized Korean citizens from marriage'), and naturalized Korean citizens by meeting other qualifications. Other qualifications for naturalization include having lived in Korea for more than five years with financial ability and basic knowledge in Korean culture and language, having a Korean parent, adopted to Korean parents, having special contribution to Korea, all of which are listed as 'regular naturalization' while 'naturalization through marriage' is listed as 'special' (*tukbyeol kwihwa*).

As of 2015 according to the MOGEF, among all of the total foreign husbands and wives, 32 percent (98,037 out of 305,446) were Korean Chinese,¹ called *Joseonjok*, 26.5 percent Chinese (81,010), 19 percent Vietnamese (58,761), 5.7 percent Filipino (17,353), 4.3 percent Japanese (13,239), and 12.5 percent others. Looking specifically at the marriage women, the biggest group of female *kyeolhon iminja* ('marriage immigrants,' foreign spouses without Korean citizenship), were Vietnamese (39,099 out of 128,193), followed by Chinese (31,417), *Joseonjok* (17,158), Japanese (11,380), Filipino (10,736), Cambodian (4,601), Thai (2,605), Mongolian (2,312), Uzbekistani (2,147), Russian (1,087), Nepali (984), Taiwanese (664), Indonesian (545), Lao (263), Korean Russian² who are called *Goryeo-in* (135), and others according to the Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS, <http://kosis.kr>). The number of Korean men who married foreign women differed depending on the men's occupational and

¹ "Korean Chinese" refers to ethnic Koreans who live in and are citizens of China.

² "Korean Russian" refers to ethnic Koreans who live in and are citizens of Russia.

socioeconomic positions. MOGEF reports that, in 2011, among men in “agriculture, forestry and fishing industries, marriage to foreign women is 38% of total marriages.”

One particular type of international marriage is those arranged by international marriage agencies, and it is this type of marriage that has drawn attention from diverse sectors of society including policy makers, gender activists, educators, health workers, and law enforcement. They paid intense attention to the cases of domestic violence (Hwang, 2015; Kim, 2009), the challenges of marriage immigrant women’s adaptation (Kim, 2009; Lee and Lee, 2013; Nam and Ahn, 2011), and legal issues and human rights (Kim, 2007; Kim, 2012; Wee, 2011). In fact, such marriage has been systemically organized, promoted, and supported by the government since the 1990’s when they promoted marriage between *joseonjok* women and Korean men in rural areas (Lim, 2010) to resolve the gender imbalance in marriage market. This unique type of marriage has been considered as a consequence of a gender imbalance in Korean society caused by socioeconomic reasons, and many Korean men remaining in rural areas have trouble finding a Korean woman to marry. As discussed in Park (2011), the industrialization and modernization of Korean society moved the majority of young people to cities to find jobs, leaving the rural areas with a mostly elderly population. Since sons are generally responsible for supporting parents, the small number of male farmers are remaining in the rural areas; for this reason, they usually live with their parents. This led to a severe shortage of the rural workforce, consequently intensifying the workloads for women in rural areas, who are responsible for both house and farm chores. Moreover, the traditional preference for sons caused a noticeably unbalanced sex ratio in newborns (Chun & Gupta, 2009; Park, 2011) and created a gender imbalance in the marriage market for men in economically marginalized positions including in rural areas, leading these

men to seek brides from outside Korea, mostly in less economically developed countries (Courtwright, 2008; Kim, 2012).

Often, the international marriage agents and brokers who arrange these marriages charge the Korean men for matching them with non-Korean women and for the monetary compensation for the bride's family (Kang, 2010). In some cases, the Korean men may also send remittance to the bride's family after marriage (Kim, 2012). A crucial aspect of this issue to bear in mind is the strong relationship between this unique type of international marriage and marginalized socioeconomic position in which these immigrant women become situated when they migrate to Korea. This particular type of international marriage has become the center of national attention due to both men and women's marginalized positions in society and the increasing number of multicultural families³ resulting from these marriages. Considering that arranged marriage, which is called *jungmae*, has existed among native Koreans, it is the monetary compensation that is unique to this type of international marriage. Interestingly, while public discourses criticize illegal brokers who misinform either party of the marriage and violate the regulations, there has been rather little discussion of the monetary aspects of the marriage and relevant issues of human rights. Such societal silence on the crucial issue may be explained by the national agenda to raise birth rate and resolve the gender imbalance in marriage market. Moreover, the principle of patrilineal descent in Korea as well as ethno-racial and gendered worldviews in Korean policy (Lim, 2010) contribute to the phenomenon. Whereas interracial marriages and children born between Korean women and foreign men were excluded from societal discourses, viewed as a "shame," and personally and systemically discriminated against (Lee, 2008), interracial marriages between Korean men and foreign women are considered as crucial to Korean society

³ According to the MOGEF, there are 820,000 multicultural family members in 2015, which is expected to increase up to one million by 2020.

to succeed patrilineal Korean families. Another important note to consider, however, is that not all international marriages between Korean men and non-Korean women fit into the same category. The socioeconomic and personal backgrounds of the marriage immigrant women should also be considered when discussing their social positioning and representations in Korea in order to better represent them and to avoid perpetuating the discursive marginalization. This dissertation aims to provide in-depth illustrations of the dynamics and diversity among marriage immigrant women by exploring the multifaceted and complex nature of their transnational and multilingual lives in Korea.

Heavily influenced by the media and policy portrayals of marriage immigrant women, I originally expected that all the women to have used international marriage agencies for their marriage and were ‘socioeconomically marginalized’ when I first started my classroom observations. My expectations, however, seemed to produce a discrepancy with the actual participant demographics on site whose marriage developed from a romantic relationship as a coincidence and whose socioeconomic status varied significantly. Among the 12 learners in the class during the first year of my data collection, at least six of the women met their husbands coincidentally and could be considered as middle class. Two of them can even be considered upper-middle class with husbands who work for major corporations with the highest salary in Korea. On the other hand, the other six women used international marriage agencies and had lower income. Hence, the women who take Korean as a second language (KSL) classes at the Multicultural Families Support Centers are not necessarily representative of the women who are brought in by marriage agents as the policy and media portray. The discrepancy between my expectations and the dynamics among the participants at the research site eventually inspired me

to explore the complexity and diversity of their identities to more clearly represent them in social discourses.

1.2. Research Questions

Despite the interests across different disciplines in the topic of multicultural families and marriage immigrant women, no sociolinguistic research has investigated how such multicultural changes of the society interact with different levels of discourses in Korea. In addition, while there have been more studies on immigrant women's second language learning and socialization in English (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko *et al.*, 2001; Gordon, 2004; Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009), immigrant women's KSL learning and socialization is a relatively new topic in the field. Considering the increasing number of marriage immigrant women that calls for more sociolinguistic attention to investigate their transnational lives and the significance of the social and human right issues surrounding them, this dissertation aims to explore the following research questions:

1. How do institutional discourses of policy and media represent marriage immigrant women and multilingual/multicultural changes in South Korea? What are the underlying ideologies that shape such discourses?
2. How do marriage immigrant women discursively construct transnational selves in enacting, negotiating with, resisting against, or challenging these discourses surrounding them?
3. How do marriage immigrant women's gendered identity constructions interact with other elements of their identities and symbolic capitals in their second language socialization in transnational, multilingual spaces of Korea?

1.3. Overview of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 will review the literature of conceptual frameworks that directed the focus of the study: a) transnationalism, b) language ideologies in multilingualism, and c) performative and diverse gender identity negotiation in transnational spaces. Chapter 3 describes the research context, data collection, participant profiles, and the transcription process. Chapter 4 will introduce the analytical and methodological frameworks used to analyze the data: a) ethnographic discourse analysis as an overall approach, b) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and c) poststructuralist approach in analyzing representation, as penetrating perspectives in the analyses of this dissertation. The data analysis of this dissertation is discussed in Chapters 5 through 7. Chapter 5 examines nation-state policy discourse on multicultural families and marriage immigrant women, with a focus on the underlying ideologies that are (re)produced in the policy discourse. Chapter 6 investigates media discourse on marriage immigrant women and multiculturalism in Korea by analyzing representations of marriage immigrant women in the well-known television program, ‘Love in Asia’. Chapter 7 microanalyzes self-representations of marriage immigrant women’s identities, which are defocused in the discourses of policy and media. The chapter explores moment-by-moment interactions of the women in and outside their KSL classroom. Finally, in Chapter 8, the main findings and implications of this study are summarized, followed by directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

2.0. Introduction

In this chapter, I describe my conceptual framework, which draws on research in applied and sociolinguistics on transnationalism, multilingualism, and gendered identity construction, in order to understand the marriage immigrant women's transnational practices within the context of today's globalization in Korea. First, I discuss the concept of transnationalism and then situate globalized South Korea within the context of transnationalism. Second, I overview the relevant language ideologies in multilingualism in order to do discuss the existing discourses surrounding multicultural changes in Korea. Lastly, I address relevant literature on gender identities in transnational spaces to position marriage immigrant women's gendered identities within the context of transnational Korea.

2.1. Transnationalism in Sociolinguistics

2.1.1. Transnationalism in globalization

As globalization increases contacts and interaction among language varieties as well as people and cultures across social and geographic spaces, more possibilities for hybrid, transnational, and intercultural identities have emerged (Blommaert, 2005; Heller, 2007; Higgins, 2011; Park & Lo, 2012). Blommaert (2003) and Coupland (2003) have pointed out the need for sociolinguists to take account of how language is framed and constitutes multilingual practices in the larger picture of globalization, in that many local linguistic activities today are interconnected with larger contexts of new economic flow. As Higgins (2011) and Blommaert (2010) discussed, these new multilingual and multicultural practices challenge the modernist

perspective, a worldview that positions individuals within nation-state and languages in place rather than across place and time, and thus ties identity to nationalities or ethnicities. To understand how people use symbolic resources available to them in constructing and negotiating in-between or hybrid identities in the new transnational spaces, sociolinguists need to recognize that the reframed multilingualism using different symbolic resources that transcend national, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural boundaries is not a set of many monolingualisms (Heller, 2007). Instead, sociolinguists need to investigate whether and how people orient to late-modern discourses of mobility, fluidity, and hybridity, and to examine how specific genres or forms of language varieties are used accordingly (Blommaert, 2003; Higgins, 2011). To this end, Blommaert (2003) contended that a sociolinguistics of globalization requires a holistic view to read local events “locally as well as translocally” and a world-systemic view to read structural inequalities in which language use occurs (p. 612). This dissertation also aims to investigate how and to what degree marriage immigrant women’s discursive practices transcend those boundaries and discursively create transnational spaces for themselves.

Given the frequent flows and interactions of not only people, goods, and services, but also symbolic capitals (Bourdieu, 1986) across geographic and social boundaries, multiculturalism and multilingualism in late-modern societies of globalization can be reframed through the notion of transnationalism (Vertovec, 2009), which refers to the way transmigrants “organize daily economic, familial, religious, and social relations within networks that extend across the borders of two nation-states” (Schiller, 2001, p. 60). In terms of their language use, a specific language variety that transnationals use to achieve a specific goal within a specific discursive context cannot be fully understood by sociolinguists without considering the different, interconnected levels of discourse that exist within the processes of globalization. Nation-state

discourses such as policies and media discourses on multilingualism accordingly interact with globalization by either accepting and using it (e.g., as Heller (2008) discussed commodification of language for the global tourism market), or by adhering to modernist discourses (e.g., one language—one nation policies). Nation-state policies thus interact with transnationals' and multilinguals' lives at different levels in both local and global aspects, in that such policies can regulate, suppress, institutionalize, promote, or commodify multilingualism in globalization. At the same time, people respond to the nation-state discourse in a variety of ways by accepting, accommodating, resisting, and possibly changing them. In order to conduct research that captures these complex relationships and processes, Blommaert (2003) emphasized the need for a “sociolinguistics of globalization,” which is also defined as *sociolinguistics of mobility* that considers language as concrete and mobile resource that moves between spaces with different cultural norms and social orders that legitimize certain ones and marginalize others, which Blommaert (2005) calls *orders of indexicality*, instead of viewing it as an object in static place.

Heller's (2003) ethnographic research investigated the tension between local and hybrid, between nation-state and transnational corporate, and between ethnonational multilingual and supra-local multilingual identities in francophone Canada. The study illustrated the tension that has emerged in a new globalization process when tourism commodified a local language variety that had been stigmatized in modernist political and ideological spaces. Under the modernist nationalist discourses when ethnic stratification was overt with anglophone owners and francophone or immigrant workers and language was a symbol of ethnic identity, francophone bilinguals were assumed to assimilate and were marginalized as a problem to the community. After tourism began to commodify the authenticity of local history, however, local bilinguals were included in the discourse as value of the community. Such discourses of authenticity

legitimized their identities both in the local community and in alliance with other francophone communities around the world, which creates transnational spaces for the local bilinguals to connect with other francophone bilinguals.

Transnationalism in the processes of globalization also makes urban areas super-diverse with transmigrants that keep in touch with their home countries despite physical distance. In doing so, transnationals often build their own communities with other transnationals rather than simply trying to assimilate to a community of practice in the modernist sense involving shared nationalities and languages (Block, 2006; Higgins, 2011; De Fina & Perrino, 2013). Sometimes, of course, transnationals from different regions can form a shared identity through ideological means, as illustrated in the works of Ibrahim (1999, 2003) and De Fina (2013). In his ethnographic and narrative studies, Ibrahim demonstrated how multilingual African immigrants from different countries formed an alternative community of their own by learning Black stylized English and performing hip-hop culture. By doing so, they identified with “black Americans” and construct in-between and new identities that neither accept the discourse of assimilation to the mainstream host community nor position them as problematic immigrants. De Fina (2013) was a study of how Latino(a)s constructed their own transnational community through creating a local radio station that utilizes symbolic resources that connect them to both the local community of Washington, DC and their home countries. As Higgins (2011) pointed out, language learners in transnational spaces “may feel in-between language and cultures, identifying with no one particular place, but rather with members of similarly transnational communities that share comparable identifications” (p. 41). This research on language learners’ alternative and transnational communities is relevant to my dissertation in that investigating marriage immigrant women’s identification with different communities will shed light on how

they identify themselves in response to imposed ideologies and available resources in transnational spaces of Korea.

The notion of super-diversity (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012; Vertovec, 2007) provides a way of understanding transnational spaces that marriage immigrant women experience in Korea. Super-diversity refers to “a tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labor and housing markets of the host societies, and so on” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012, p. 1), and emphasizes the blurred boundaries between nations and between immigrants and non-immigrants. As transmigrants use language varieties including both home languages and languages of their new community as semiotic resource for different interactional purposes regardless of spatial, national, and cultural boundaries, their language use also blurs nation-state boundaries and demonstrates super-diversity and hybridity. To examine language practices that constitute super-diversity at different levels of transnationals’ discursive activities and identity construction, sociolinguists proposed new constructs such as “translanguaging” or “polylanguaging” (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011).

As an example, Whiteside (2006) illustrated how four Yucatecans utilize different linguistic resources including Maya, Spanish, English, and Vietnamese in order to achieve different interactional goals. The study showed that social and interactional activities are discursively constructed and subject positions are locally negotiated by participants’ performance of particular languages to signal certain symbolic worlds to the interlocutors, which can be seen as an example of super-diversity in today’s multilingual world. Lanza and Svendsen (2007) provided another example of complex use of language varieties among multilingual Filipino

diaspora in Norway. The findings of the study showed that multiple factors influenced language maintenance and language choice. For example, close relationships with the same ethnic group members did not necessarily guarantee a higher chance of speaking Filipino languages, as other factors such as language ideologies, pragmatic needs, and peer relationships affected their language choices. In addition, many of the families in the study mixed varieties of languages including Filipino languages, Norwegian, English, and blends of Tagalog and English or Tagalog and Norwegian, which showed the blurred boundaries among ethnic and national identities and language choices in their super-diverse daily interactions. These studies are relevant to my dissertation in that discursive practices of marriage immigrant women also involve different language varieties including their L1s, standardized Korean, regional dialect of Korean, English, Konglish (blend of Korean and English), Russian (between Uzbek and Russian nationals), etc. The women engaged in discursive activities such as instant messaging, social networking, consuming popular culture, schooling, and interacting with members of the local community or with other transnationals through different language varieties available to them. The notion of super-diversity thus helps investigate discursive practices of marriage immigrant women.

Given their participation in multiple and fluid transnational communities, it is also often the case that the transmigrants have frequent opportunities to be exposed to and develop hybrid or in-between selves, which calls for research attention to their identity construction and positioning (De Fina & Perrino, 2013). I am interested in this idea since marriage immigrant women in Korea share similarities with transnationals in the previous studies discussed above, and the notion of hybrid selves will shed light on how and what kinds of identities the women construct and affiliate with. This raises the question of how to theorize identity construction. One way is to view it as a process of narrativization, or the positioning of the self within discourses.

Studies which take this view include Pavlenko (2001) and Prior (2011). Pavlenko (2001) analyzed cross-cultural autobiographies of language learning experiences in the United States in order to examine learners' identities. Her discussion demonstrated how learners constituted diverse and multifaceted identities that interact with other elements of their identities as well as with other social discourses on immigrants that surround them, illuminating the complexity and hybridity of their identities that maneuver and negotiate among discourses and identities available to them. Drawing on narrative inquiries of multilinguals, Prior (2011) analyzed the narratives of a male Vietnamese-Cambodian immigrant in Canada. The study focused on how he constructed different identities over two years. At the beginning, he talked mostly about how he was a powerless victim of wars in his home countries, where he was othered based on his language and ethnicity, as well as his marginalization in the new country after immigration. Later, his narratives constructed agentive stances he had taken towards unequal treatment at workplaces and in public, which further developed into hybrid, transnational stances.

2.1.2. Transnationalism and globalization in Korea

Although Korea is often depicted as a homogenous, monocultural nation, Korean transnational migrants' language use and identity challenges the essentialized perspectives of one nation—one language—one culture ideology and language as a national identity marker. An increasing number of studies have examined a range of Korean transnationals living outside of Korea to illustrate these ideas (Kang, 2012; Park & Lo, 2012; Shin, 2012; Song, 2012). For example, Shin (2012) illustrated how today's transnational Koreans mobilized different linguistic and cultural resources in positioning themselves as desired transnationals in Canada. The Korean *yuhaksaeng* (visa students) in her study used linguistic and cultural resources from cosmopolitan

and urban Korean fashion, popular culture, technology, and language to construct cool and wealthy transnational identities in response to the ideological positioning as nerdy, marginalized Asians imposed on them in the mainstream white Canadian context. Of particular interest was that their self-representation as cool and middle-class and their distancing of themselves from traditional *iminja* (long-time immigrants) held validity within the communities of transnational South Koreans rather than those of local Canadians. Similarly, Kang (2012) investigated how Koreans in Singapore mobilized different linguistic and cultural resources including Korean, global English, and a local form of English (Singlish) in constructing their positions as “global Asians” who were differentiated from the locals while being able to build solidarity with them when needed. The participants in Kang’s study show how transnational Koreans performed languages in order to negotiate and construct transnational and global selves.

Song (2012) also challenged the notion that Koreans are a homogenous identity group by discussing the struggle that two Korean transnational families demonstrated in their discursive constructions of class, identity, and language. In her study, two South Korean graduate student families in the United States distance themselves from other *jogi yuhak* or *kirogi* families, who temporarily moved into the area for their children’s English education. The struggle between “foregrounding their roles as moral and intellectual elites vs. acting as materialistic parents” (p. 203) that emerged throughout their narratives illustrated how transnational Koreans in today’s globalized contexts shift subjectivities to negotiate their identities. The studies described in this section provide good examples of Korean transnational experiences marked by fluidity and hybridity in identities and language use. Although the studies concern transmigrant Koreans, not transmigrants that immigrated to Korea from other countries, they shed light on the fluidity that South Korea is witnessing in recent decades.

Another example of Korean transnationals' identity construction is the narrative research conducted by Higgins and Stoker (2011). They explored identities of Korean adoptee-returnees (KADs) "in" the context of Korea through narratives of the six KAD women who were residing and working in Korea. The analyses demonstrated the KAD women's struggles with being othered by Korean nationals and finding belonging in Korea, as Korean nationals imposed high expectations for them to eagerly want to learn the Korean language as well as stigmatize their Korean language ability. Accordingly, instead of building connections with other "Korean Koreans," which was the term the KAD women used to refer to Korean nationals, they felt connected to other transnationals, especially other KADs or marginal population in Korea who understood their situations. They discursively constructed transnational identities as legitimate Koreans such as "overseas Koreans," who held equal rights as Korean nationals. The study aimed to broaden the identity categories of what "Korean" means by providing an opportunity to hear the KAD's voices. In sum, the study challenged negative evaluations that stigmatized migrants and other transnational population for failing or refusing to assimilate to the host culture and offered an alternative perspective to represent their in-between transnational identities.

This dissertation aims to add another dimension of transnational identities in Korea to this body of research on Korean transnationals. By examining marriage immigrant women's discursive activities in various interactional contexts such as in the KSL classroom, with Korean nationals, and with other transnationals in Korea, my dissertation will raise questions to challenge the dominant monocultural and monolithic perspectives in discourses in Korea in order to illuminate transnational voices and spaces in Korea.

2.2. Language Ideologies and Multilingualism

My dissertation explores how transnationals negotiate language ideologies they encounter in Korean society. A key finding in research on language ideologies is that the increased flow of migration and influence of multinational corporations and organizations from globalization (May, 2001) positions languages as assets (Kramsch, 2009), and multilingualism in the late-modern globalized world seems to be intertwined with mixed ideological discourses at different levels of multilinguals' lives: nation-state policy, education, and home.

In modern societies in which the nation-state emerged, the one nation–one language ideology has been pervasive as part of nationistic⁴ and nationalistic ideologies underlying the choice of a national language as they require one national language that unifies the nation. The one nation–one language ideology reflects the assimilationist perspective, the idea that demands immigrants to absorb the majority culture, abandon their home cultures, and become similar to the major population of the community. Hence, in the assimilationist perspective, multilingualism is viewed as a problem to the nation. The assimilationist perspective stands opposite to the pluralist perspective in Schmid's (2000) language ideology spectrum. While pluralism acknowledges multilingual natures of many societies, considers multilingualism as valuable asset for the society, and promotes language rights of minorities and immigrants, assimilationism requires new immigrants to adapt to the majority culture, advocates monoculturalism, and adopts the discourse of integration. Integration is a process that incorporates immigrants and the minority into the majority culture and provides equal opportunities for the minority, which can be a two-way process that involves accommodation of

⁴ Nationism, as Fishman (1969) defined, concerns with “operational efficiency” (p. 113) instead of ethnic authenticity which is the focus of nationalism.

both the host society and immigrants; however, assimilation is a one-way process in which only immigrants are expected to make efforts to become like the majority of the host society. The examples that reflect the assimilationist perspectives include English-only movements in the United States or a Korean-only discourse in Korea as I have observed in my field work. As Weber and Horner (2012) pointed out, integration has been prominent in the discourses of migrants, even in relatively liberal societies. From the integrationist perspective, immigrants are considered as potential problems for social unity and as in need of being integrated into the host society, which is conceived as a homogeneous entity. We, as a host society, are viewed as agents who integrate them, othered immigrants, into our society (p. 153). Integrationism also posits an asymmetrical world-view on migrants by positioning them as a problem yet excluding the immigrants with more capital from the discourse (p. 152).

The integrationist perspective considers multilingualism in individuals as an asset; on the other hand, multilingualism in a whole society is problematic as it may threaten social unity. The integrationist perspective thus emphasizes the importance of language learning in the process of integration, as often expressed through terms such as “integration program,” “integration courses,” or “integration teaching.” For example, a Dutch integration test was used to control migration by combining language testing and societal knowledge; the test drew criticism for being extremely difficult and subjective. When 67 Dutch citizens were given the test, only 58 percent of them passed, indicating its unfairness (Extra & Spotti, 2009). In the home, assimilationist ideology can be manifested when parents avoid using heritage or minority languages in order to support their children’s acquisition of the majority language (Schmid, 2000; Jeon, 2008). Drawing on Schmid (2000), Jeon (2008) took an ethnographic approach to investigating language ideology in Korean families in the United States. The families in the

study demonstrated both assimilationist and pluralist perspectives on bilingualism. Concerned about their children's English, especially given the power of English both in the United States and in Korea, one family eliminated the Korean language from their home so that their children would not be distracted by it. Similarly, Blackledge and Creese (2010) discussed two opposing positions in bilingual education in a high school. One of the two positions, separate bilingualism, indicated the modernist institutional ideology that tied one language to one nation or ethnicity and compartmentalized languages for the maintenance of the minority language.

Table 1 is the summarized list of ideologies in multilingualism and multiculturalism that this dissertation will draw on in the following chapters.

Table 1. Language Ideologies Used in This Dissertation

Ideology	Comments
Transnationalism	The hybrid and fluid nature of transmigrants whose life styles and discursive practices of language varieties extend across national and cultural borders
Integrationism	A worldview that emphasizes incorporation of immigrants and the minority into the majority culture, possibly in a two-process involving accommodation of both the minority and the majority
Assimilationism	A perspective that demands immigrants to absorb the majority culture, abandon their home cultures, and become similar to the major population of the community as a one-way process
Pluralism	A perspective that acknowledges multilingualism in many societies, considers multilingualism as a valuable asset for the society, and promotes language rights of minorities and immigrants
One Nation–One Language Ideology	An idea that one nation must be unified by one common language

As I will show in detail throughout the dissertation, multilingual language policy in South Korea adopts the assimilationist perspective through discourse of integration based on the

one nation–one language ideology. Migrant women are expected and even required to learn the Korean language and Korean culture prior to and during their marriages, and doing so is portrayed as key to their success in their family and social life in Korea. South Korea’s Multicultural Families Support Act (The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2015) is constructed mainly for the multicultural families that result from marriages between Korean men and foreign women, who may generally have less social and economic capital than the average Korean women and thus are considered as potential problems for the society and in need to be integrated. The discourse of integration is prominent throughout the policy discourse in expressions such as *sahoitonghap* (social integration/social unification), *sahoitonghap pulogulaem* (social integration program), or *sahoijeokeung* (social adaptation). The center of this integration program is complimentary Korean as a second language (KSL) education, which is offered at Multicultural Families Support Centers as a part of the policy. When immigrants complete the social integration program, which includes the language education, and pass a Korean language proficiency test, they earn advantages in their naturalization process. In addition, the definitions of multicultural families in the Korea’s Multicultural Families Support Act (2015) include families formed by a marriage immigrant or naturalized immigrant and a Korean citizen either by birth or by naturalization while excluding families where both spouses are migrants residing in Korea. Exclusion of migrant families without Korean nationals or Korean diaspora not only positions immigrants as accessories and parts for Koreans, but it also posits an asymmetrical view on immigrants by legitimizing families with Koreans as members of society while marginalizing migrant families without Korean nationals.

Despite nation-state policy discourses that perpetuate modernist perspectives, which bound one nation with one language, many transnationals have been reported to develop

‘truncated multilingualism’ (Blommaert, 2010), a term that refers to multilinguals’ competence in certain registers that serve particular functions, rather than mastery on a par with monolingual L1 speakers of standard varieties” (Higgins, 2011, p. 32). García (2007) used the related term *translanguaging* (p. 12) to describe how multilinguals use different linguistic resources without diglossic separation. These concepts provided lenses to investigate the flexibility and hybridity of transnationals’ discursive activities that mix language varieties and blur boundaries among languages and national borders. The mixed use of language varieties, in other words, indicates hybrid and in-between identities of transnationals. Blackledge and Creese (2010) illustrated how actual linguistic practices and interactions in bilingual classrooms show flexibility and mixed language use as a resource for identity performances (Androutsopoulos, 2007). In Blackledge and Creese’s (2010) study, when teachers required students to speak in their minority languages in an attempt to maintain the minority languages, students resisted this imposition by insisting on their right to choose and switch between languages. The attempt to bound students’ language to their ethnic identity fails as the students’ resist against such identification and choose to perform different identities through their language use. The examples of late-modern multilingual practices of transnationals thus contested the one nation–one language ideology which draws clear lines between languages based on the national borders.

My dissertation will explore whether and to what degree there is room for contesting monolingual, monoculturalist language ideologies and language policies, and for promoting transnational and pluralist perspectives in Korea for marriage immigrant women. As Hornberger (2002) discussed,

the one language–one nation ideology of language policy and national identity is no longer the only available one worldwide (if it ever was). Multilingual language

policies which recognize ethnic and linguistic pluralism as resources for nation-building are increasingly in evidence. These policies, many of which envision implementation through bilingual intercultural education, open up new worlds of possibility for oppressed indigenous and immigrant languages and their speakers, transforming former homogenizing and assimilationist policy discourse into discourses about diversity and emancipation. (p. 29)

Examples of such policies, she explained, include Bolivia's minority language policy and South Africa's multilingual language policies. Bolivia started bilingual intercultural education to restore and revitalize indigenous languages of its people, which emphasized the education of indigenous languages and Spanish as a second language education as subjects. Post-apartheid South Africa's policies adopted different African languages as media of instruction in education as student population had become highly multicultural and multilingual. Policies in the two countries offered implementational and ideological spaces for minority and immigrant identities and languages and valued multiculturalism as an asset for the nation instead of reinforcing the one nation—one language ideology. At the level of schooling, Davis (2009) exemplified a way to promote multilingual literacy practices in schools rather than assimilating or integrating immigrants to the language of the majority. She and her colleagues conducted participatory research with high school students in Hawai'i. The students were critical researchers in the project, which was called SHALL (Studies of Heritage and Academic Languages and Literacies). The project was designed to probe language ideologies and marginalization of minority languages, including Hawai'i Creole and heritage languages of the students. Students used their heritage languages to interview family and community members regarding the heritage languages, later translating them into academic English in class. The project also opened a space

for contesting the more powerful language ideologies and giving voices to the less powerful multilingual minorities of the community.

Homes can also be important sites for producing and contesting language ideologies. Although Korean is not the heritage language of marriage immigrant women in this study, studies that examined heritage language transmission can shed light on language ideologies that are at play in the women's multilingual, or monolingual, practices at home. Also, some of the women use their L1s in interacting with their children while others consider it unnecessary. The women who use their L1 at home said that they consider multilingualism as an asset for their children's future and it is important for their children to speak their mother's language. Similarly, in Jeon's (2008) study, there were families who valued bilingualism as an asset in today's globalized world and encouraged their children to speak and learn both Korean and English. In another family, this pluralist perspective seemed rather limited in that their willingness to teach Korean to the children was under the condition that their English was not threatened. De Fina (2012) provided an exemplary case study that showed how communicative strategies and performances are carried out by family members including speech accommodation, translations, metalinguistic comments, and probing and performing among three generations of Italian American family members. In a similar vein, Canagarajah (2012) illustrated how Sri Lankan Tamil families in North America use self-styling in performing identities. The third generation of the family, born in North America, chose to use Tamil when communicating with their grandparents even when they could simply use English. Moreover, Tamil was also a resource for them to perform and claim their identities when speaking to peers who did not share the same language or ethnicity. The literature on multilingual family interaction thus points to the

significance of language as a symbol of in- or out-group culture and values and as a prime resource for the drawing of ethnic boundaries.

Drawing on the previous studies on transnationalism and language ideologies in multilingualism, this dissertation will explore what sorts of language ideologies marriage immigrant women encounter in Korea and how the women interpret and respond to them in their discursive practices. The discussion will contextualize the practices within larger discourses and ideologies that surround the women, especially the integrationism that demands the women to learn Korean culture and language upon or even prior to their entrance to Korea as core part of their adaptation (Kim and Lee, 2012). I will then explore how and to what extent the women respond to the larger ideologies with symbolic capitals they have as transnationals.

2.3. Gendered Identities in Transnational Space

The nature of marriage immigrant women's migration to Korea and their transnational and multilingual practices in Korea are often gendered as wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law. In turn, these gendered identities shape the women's language learning and use. Drawing upon studies of immigrant women and their gendered identities in relation to second language learning and socialization (Gordon, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001), this dissertation aims to contribute to this body of literature by illustrating immigrant women's construction of gendered identities in the transnational context of KSL learning and socialization. In line with recent studies that have viewed identities as dynamic, fluid, and discursively constructed instead of given, static, and fixed (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, Blackledge, Piller, & Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001; Cameron, 2005; Block, 2007; Higgins, 2011), I will explore the women's multifaceted identities.

2.3.1. Performativity and Diversity

In terms of second language learning and gender, female L2 learners negotiate with new L2 gender identities in various ways including assimilating, adapting, appropriating, resisting, or creating new alternative identities in response to the gender ideologies encountered either in their L1 or L2. As a result, rather than simply accepting new L2 gender ideologies or adhering to L1 gender ideologies, they create hybrid gender identities and perform different gendered selves through their interactions in different local contexts (Menard-Warwick, 2007; Norton, 2000; Ohara, 2001; Pavlenko, 2001). This is important to my dissertation to investigate how and to what degree marriage immigrant women's KSL learning and socialization are gendered practice, and to examine how the women negotiate with gender ideologies they encounter in policy, media, and daily interactions.

Feminist poststructuralist sociolinguists draw on the notion of performativity (Cameron, 2005) in research on gender in multilingualism, emphasizing that gender may be relevant in some contexts when people "perform" certain gendered identities while it may be irrelevant if people do not "do" gender (Butler, 1999). In this light, Skapoulli (2004) illustrated the performativity of gender identities in second language learning by exploring an Arabic-speaking immigrant girl's hybrid gender identities; with peers, she performed "'a western girl,'" looking at fashion magazines and so forth, while keeping Coptic culture at home. She therefore constituted and performed different gender identities using both verbal and non-verbal resources. Another example of gendered identity as performance by an immigrant woman was shown in Menard-Warwick's (2007) study in which she analyzed a Mexican immigrant woman's narratives, drawing on Bakhtin's (1991) notion of voicing. The participant told a story about her unmarried younger sister's pregnancy while performing a "good girl," who values family unity and cares

about her father's strong stance against women's involvement in sexual relationships outside of marriages. She also, however, aligned with her mother's supportive stance in the matter, standing against the village people's gossip. In so doing, she created space to perform a woman who can also take a critical stance in the matter. I aim to see how the women in my study enact their gendered identities and how they might appropriate or transform them. Investigating their performance of the imposed gendered identities can shed light on their agency and stance toward gender ideologies in Korea, which contextualizes their lives in relation to Korean women who also experience the imposition of similar gendered identities (Lee, 2010; Lee, 2013).

Another important aspect of studying immigrant women's gendered identities is gender diversity (Cameron, 2005). As she pointed out, "masculinities and femininities come in multiple varieties, inflecting and inflected by all the other dimensions of someone's social identity—their age, ethnicity, class, occupation, and so forth" (p. 487). This view considers gender to be one of many important facets of social identities that play a role "in framing students' language learning experiences, trajectories, and outcomes" (Norton & Pavlenko, 2004, p. 504; also see Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Heller, 2007). To this end, Menard-Warwick (2009) referred to gendered identities that are inflected by gender, in contrast to gender identity, which defines identities solely by gender. In her book, she recognized multiple aspects of learners' identities that were difficult to separate from gender and used the notion of "gendered identities" to discuss such interactions of different identity elements with gender in immigrant women's second language learning. This dissertation adopts her use of the term "gendered identities" to recognize the interplay of different identity elements and their influences on gender in discussing the marriage immigrant women's discursive construction of gendered identities that are interwoven with their socioeconomic, linguistic, ethnic, and religious identities (Butler, 1999; Gordon, 2004;

Higgins, 2011; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Norton (2000) investigated how gender and other elements of immigrant women's identities (e.g., educational and economic resources in their home countries) influence their English learning and participation, which I will discuss in more depth in the methodology section. Pavlenko (2001) also analyzed second language learner autobiographies and oral narratives to investigate how gendered identities transform with women's immigration and how they assimilated or resisted the new gender ideologies in their new environments. Her analyses illustrated how immigrant women discursively construct different gendered identities depending on other facets of their social identities.

My dissertation will investigate what kinds of gendered identities are expected of marriage immigrant women by others in Korea, and how and to what extent the women perform those identities in relation to gender ideologies in their L1 and Korean. Furthermore, I will examine what kinds of gendered identities, and how, the women discursively construct for themselves. Considering different socioeconomic and sociocultural backgrounds and capital among the women, I will also explore their gendered identities with regard to other factors of their social identities that interact with and influence their gendered identity construction.

2.3.2. Ideology, agency and negotiation of gendered identities

Aligning with the literature that define gender as performative and diverse, this dissertation also defines identities as “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (Norton, 2013, p. 45) and thus as multiple and changing. In this vein, ideology can also be understood as “a complex, layered space where ideational, behavioral, and institutional aspects interact and sometimes contradict one another” (Menard-Warwick, 2009, p.

43). Recognizing ideology as a site of struggle for dominance, hegemony, and marginalization, individuals' agency becomes foregrounded in restructuring, challenging, and changing the discourses. To this end, poststructuralist sociolinguistic analyses also paid attention to language learners' *negotiation* of identities (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001) and their agency, considering the central role language plays in constructing and reconstructing gendered identities and ideologies as language provides space to constitute selves and subjectivities (Weedon, 1987). For instance, Pavlenko (2001) discussed an essay by Mori (2000) in which Mori strongly resisted the ideological discourse of the association between immigrant women and poverty, asserting that it had no relevance to her life in a new country. She, as an elite upper class woman, uses other elements of her social identities and discursively distanced herself from the dominant ideology of marginalized, struggling immigrant women in her narrative.

Resonating with Norton's (2000) and Pavlenko's (2001) work, Menard-Warwick (2009) also pointed out that "learners exercised considerable agency" by "attempting, and to some extent succeeding, to negotiate their way out of the discourses imposed on them" (p. 131) despite the constraints in their immigrant lives including gender ideologies. As she pointed out, women perform gendered identities and exercise agency with some degree of constraints from social contexts and other elements of their identities. Another study by Menard-Warwick (2004) examined two Latina immigrants' narratives to discuss the gendered natures of immigrant women's second language learning and their agency in contesting the gender ideologies surrounding them. Drawing upon Peirce's (1995) notion of "investment" and Pavlenko's (2001) work, Menard-Warwick examined how gender as a social construct and immigrant women's language learning intersect. Their narratives illustrated how they respond to gendered expectations imposed by their communities and families. While one participant took a rather

passive position in dealing with discrimination, the other constructed her narratives in such a way that she claimed agency in resisting the gender ideologies placed upon her by her father and husband. The similarity of these women's English learning after migration, however, showed that their investment in gendered roles in raising children and supporting familial matters played a crucial role in their English learning. As Kim and Lee's (2012) survey reported, the most desired support marriage immigrant women in Korea seek are Korean language education and various support available for raising their children.

2.3.3. Renegotiation of patriarchal gendered identities

Since I am interested in the possibility of contesting or renegotiating patriarchal gendered identities among the women I study, it is important to review other research which has demonstrated how women in marginalized positions have challenged patriarchy. In terms of the processes of women's migration in globalization, studies on gender in traditional spaces have illustrated the process of renegotiating gendered identities, especially those patriarchy-influenced as they encounter incompatible gender expectations and ideologies in their home cultures and new. Many of these studies examined immigrants to the U.S., which is generally analyzed as a context that provides greater equality to women than their countries of origin. Gordon's (2004) ethnographic study of interview and observation data of working class Lao immigrants in the United States illustrated how Lao women undergo second language socialization mainly through managing domestic business rather than workplace communications, stressing the impact of gender identities in their socialization in the new country. The study demonstrated how second language socialization is a gendered practice which also interacts with other identity elements such as social and economic class. Furthermore, the female participants discussed how their gender roles have shifted from obedient wives who had to depend on their husbands and endure

unfair treatment in their home country to independent individuals who had access to police, friends, and community for help after their migration. In contrast, Lao men in the study viewed the same transformation in the opposite way. After migration, they often no longer made enough money to support the entire family, and they lost power and privileges. In a similar vein, Menard-Warwick (2008) analyzed ESL classroom interactions using a critical discourse analysis framework. Considering that language learning occurs simultaneously with the social positioning (Davies and Harré, 1990) of immigrant women by societal discourses, she analyzed Latina women's social positioning in ESL classrooms. The analyses illustrated that the participants positioned themselves differently in different contexts, sometimes by contesting the discourse that position them in low-paying service jobs and other times accepting such positioning in order to present their English proficiency and co-construct gender solidarity.

In the context of transnational Korea, Lee (2010) examined gendered second language socialization by analyzing the narratives of two *kirogi* mothers to investigate how they (re)positioned themselves and others using footing (Goffman, 1981), voicing (Bakhtin, 1991), and repositioning in their story telling. The two Korean mothers, who moved to the United States in order to provide their children with English-language education, positioned themselves as important education managers for their children. The mothers also discussed the transformation in their gender identities, in that they were alone in a new country without their husbands. At the same time, escape from the heavy imposition of gender roles including as daughters-in-law and wives in Korea was also discussed in their narratives. Like Gordon (2004), Lee illustrated how larger discourses, socioeconomic contexts, and gender ideologies interacted with the women's second language socialization in transnational spaces. Whereas Lee (2010) showed shifted gendered identities of Korean women after emigrating from Korea, narratives of three Korean

American women in Lee (2013) discussed their struggle with and resistance against the highly patriarchal gender ideologies imposed on them after migrating to Korea. The Korean American women in her study discursively distanced themselves not only from the imposition of gendered ideologies of “good” Korean girls, who were expected to be obedient and meek, but also from the Korean women who enacted patriarchal ideologies and put their priority on finding a good husband and becoming a wife and a mother. In so doing, they represented themselves as transnationals who had options to choose or resist such ideologies and who held economic and cultural capital across space with “westernized” gendered identities.

Resonating with the findings of these studies, the participants of this study also frequently discussed their struggles with highly patriarchal gendered ideologies on married women as daughters-in-law after their migration to Korea, especially when the topic of traditional holidays or house chores emerged. This dissertation will explore whether and to what degree patriarchy in Korean society forms the women’s identities in their KSL learning and socialization and what sorts of opportunities for emancipation they may encounter in their new community. To explore their gendered identity negotiation, I will critically analyze the discourses of policy and media to examine the gendered identities that are imposed on marriage immigrant women by the host Korean society, and microanalyze the women’s interactions to explore how the women negotiate with the imposed gendered roles, especially with reference to their countries of origin.

2.4. Summary

This chapter described conceptual frameworks in applied sociolinguistics which my dissertation draws on: transnationalism, language ideologies in multilingualism, and gendered

identity negotiation. In the following chapters, I will explore how the language ideologies of integrationism, assimilationism, one nation–one language, and pluralism are constructed in policy and media discourses on marriage immigrant women in order to contextualize their lives in relation to the surrounding ideologies, and how the women respond to the ideologies. Also, in exploring whether there is room to contest monolingual ideologies and promote multilingualism in the context of globalized Korea, I will draw on the notion of transnationalism (Vertovec, 2009) to investigate the hybrid and fluid aspects of marriage immigrant women's interactions and identities that utilize resources across their home cultures and Korean.

Another important concept on which this dissertation draws on is the notion of gender as performative and diverse (Cameron, 2005), and the poststructuralist approach to researching negotiation of gendered identities of immigrant women in their L2 learning and socialization (Gordon, 2004; Higgins, 2011; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001). My dissertation will investigate what sorts of patriarchal gender ideologies marriage immigrant women encounter in Korea and how they discursively negotiate them, and how their negotiation interplays with other dimensions of their identities. Lastly, my analyses will contextualize the women's gendered identity negotiation within transnational spaces to investigate how and to what degree they renegotiate with new gender ideologies in L2 with reference to their L1 and may create hybrid identities.

CHAPTER 3. DATA AND PARTICIPANTS

3.0. Introduction

This chapter summarizes the socioeconomic and historic contexts of this study's research site, data collection process, and participants. I introduce the historical background of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Multicultural Families Support Act, and the Multicultural Families Support Centers. I also briefly present the Insan⁵ City where the center of this study is located. The following section will summarize the profiles of the participants. In the last section, I discuss the transcription of the data.

3.1. Research Contexts

3.1.1. Multicultural Families Support Act

Understanding the positions of marriage immigrant women in Korea requires further background knowledge of their legal status in Korea and the government's response to the issues involved. Legally, the immigration and the initial two years of residency of marriage immigrants in Korea need to be guaranteed by their spouse, and they can apply for permanent residency after those initial two years. The Ministry of Justice has also implemented a policy that gives immigrants an advantage in acquiring permanent residency and progressing through the naturalization process when they pass each level of the beginning, intermediate, and advanced TOPIK (Test of Proficiency in Korean)⁶ or pass an oral interview after completing the Korean

⁵ Insan is a pseudonym I created, made from the combination of *in* (from 'industrial') and *-san*, which is frequently used as the last syllable for city names in Korea, to capture the characteristics of the city: one of the biggest industrial cities in Korea.

⁶ The TOPIK is administered by the National Institute for International Education, which is a subordinate division in the Ministry of Education. The test has six levels; levels one and two are beginning proficiency; three and four are intermediate; and five and six are advanced. TOPIK test scores are used for immigration and naturalization processes as well as for university admission and corporate employment in Korea. (<http://www.topik.go.kr/>)

Immigration and Integration Programs. In the case of divorce, however, the immigrant has to prove that their divorce attributes to the spouse's fault in order to continue residing in Korea (www.mogef.go.kr), or they can apply for a special visa to remain in Korea and raise children. Due to the marginalized legal positions in which many marriage immigrant women are situated, there have been concerns regarding their human rights, difficulties in "acculturation," and linguistic barriers (Jang, Myers, & Shannon, 2011; Nam & Ahn, 2011). For example, domestic violence has been an issue with: 69.1% of marriage immigrant women having reported that they experienced violence from in-law family members⁷, and there have been marriage immigrant women who were either been killed by in-law family members or committed suicide because of domestic violence. Given the common tendency for sexual crimes and domestic violence to go underreported, the actual number of these incidents of murder and suicide is probably even higher than the statistics that are available. Due to the increasing threats to the human rights of marriage immigrant women, in 2008 the government implemented new laws to regulate the matchmaking agencies and to protect these women from domestic and sexual violence. In addition, the MOGEF has started to operate Multicultural Families Support Centers to provide linguistic, cultural, and domestic assistance for the multicultural families as well as hotlines for domestic and sexual violence.

3.1.2. The Multicultural Families Support Centers

The MOGEF, the agency who oversees the running of the Multicultural Families Support Centers, was initially started in 1999 as The Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs after The Ministry of Political Affairs first set a focus on women's affair in 1990. In

⁷ The national average percentage of reported domestic violence including physical, verbal, emotional, economic, and sexual violence is 45.5% (<http://kosis.kr>).

2001, it changed its title to the Ministry of Gender Equality, which expanded its scope to family affairs in 2005 and became the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. In 2007 when it first included immigrant women in the policies, and in 2012 the independent Multicultural Family Division was established with the increased number of personnel, under which the local Multicultural Families Support Centers operate. The policies of the MOGEF that pertain to marriage immigrant women are under two categories, the first being Multicultural Families Support Act under Family Policies and the second being Immigrant Women (*icwu yeseng*), which focuses more on the human right issues of the immigrant women and their children.

As part of the Multicultural Families Support Act, there are 217 Multicultural Family Support Centers throughout Korea operated by the MOGEF in 2016, as shown in Figure 1. The data of this study were collected at the suburban Multicultural Families Support Center in a metropolitan city, and the center is the biggest in size and budget among the centers in the city. Beginning, intermediate, and advanced KSL classes are offered at the center along with the social integration program and other special educational programs on diverse subject matters (e.g., finance, public health, fraud protection, safety, etc.). In order to investigate marriage immigrant women's insights and identity constructions, I collected data in an advanced-level KSL class where the students' language proficiency was high enough to express their thoughts in Korean during the class and who have extensive experiences of living in Korea. Most of the students in the class have passed or were preparing for the intermediate to advanced level of the TOPIK test at the time of the initial data collection in 2013. The center also runs an interpretation service, a home country visiting program, and a toy library for multicultural families registered as residents of the Insan Suburb County. Four of the participants also worked part-time or full-time as a multicultural lecturer, interpreter, or an office staff at the center.

Figure 1. Map of Multicultural Families Support Centers in Korea⁸



3.1.3. The Insan City

The socioeconomic contexts of the Insan City can help better understand the participants' positions. Insan is one of the top ten cities in terms of the population and one of the biggest industrial cities in Korea with factories of several major corporations. Corporations based in Insan include the largest companies in the field of petroleum, automobile, shipbuilding, etc.

⁸ The map is extracted from www.mapsofworld.com. Eight independent metropolitan cities are in bold, and bigger administrative provinces -do with multiple smaller cities are in italics.

Furthermore, there are plenty of mid-sized companies that are affiliated with those corporations. In recent years, the city has had the highest average of salary (www.yonhapnews.co.kr/economy on April 8, 2014) and the lowest unemployment rate (<http://kosis.kr>). The city thus has several suburbs which include not only agricultural and fishery towns but also industrial sectors where the factories are located.

Insan Suburb-ri, where the center of this study is located, is the nearest suburb to the city center, located between agricultural suburbs and the Insan city center. There are many people who work for corporations and live in *Insan Suburb-ri* due to its inexpensive cost of living. At the same time, you can also hear tractors passing by from within the classrooms, which shows the mixed population of *Insan Suburb-ri*. Many newly built condominiums, franchise restaurants, cafes, and bars are located in *Insan Suburb-ri*. The dynamics of its residents is shown in the participant profiles of this study, given that husbands of four participants worked for major corporations, two for mid-size companies affiliated with major corporations, two as farmers, one as a government officer, and one English teacher. The specific socioeconomic and historical contexts in which the participants are situated, therefore, should be considered in understanding the dynamic and complex nature of their identities and positionalities.

3.2. Participants⁹

In this section, the profiles of nine focal participants are listed in the chronological order of my first meeting with them. Table 2. presents profiles of each focal participant, and detailed ethnographic description of each participant follows. I extracted the ethnographic information

⁹ I chose pseudonyms for each participant in accord with the cultural meaning and pronunciation of their actual names. If participants used names in their L1, I selected pseudonyms in that language. For the participants who used Korean names, I chose Korean names with similar meanings and pronunciations.

about each participant from the audio-recorded data of classroom, group talk interactions, and individual interviews.

Table 2. Focal Participants' Profiles

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Children	Context of Meeting Husband	Language at Home	Occupation in Korea
Asako	2002	Early 30's	Japan	2	ESL school in Canada	With husband: initially English and shifted to Korean, With children: Korean and Japanese	- Bachelor's in Japan - Was a Japanese language teacher - Husband works for a corporate
Mayumi	2002	Mid 30's	Japan	2	ESL school in Australia	With husband: initially English and shifted to Korean, With children: Korean and Japanese	- Bachelor's in Japan - Was a Japanese language teacher - Husband is an English teacher at a language school
Yuni	2006	Mid 20's	Vietnam	1	During husband's trip in Vietnam	With husband: initially English and shifted to Korean, With children: Korean and Vietnamese	- High school - Worked at an international marriage agency part-time - Husband works for a corporate
Jimin	2003	Early 30's	Vietnam	1	Through an agency	Korean	- Bachelor's in Vietnam - Part-time multicultural lecturer, a pyramid cosmetic company sales

							- Husband works for a company affiliated with a major corporate
Maiko	2007	Late 30's	Japan	1	ESL school in New Zealand	English first, Korean with husband, Korean and Japanese with children	- Bachelor's in Japan - Full-time housewife - Husband works for a corporate
Sophie	2008	Late 20's	Cambodia	1	Through an agency	Korean	- Middle school - Farms with her mother-in-law and works as a part-time multicultural lecturer - Husband: farmer
Eunhee	2007	Late 20's	Cambodia	2	Through an agency	Korean, partially in Cambodian to children	- High school - Part-time multicultural lecturer at public schools and a part-time interpreter at the center - Husband: farmer
Youngbee	2012	Mid 20's	Vietnam	Pregnant	At work in Korea	Korean	- Master's in Korea - Was a full-time interpreter for the Human Resources Development of Korea in Seoul - Husband works for the same department, will be stationed in Vietnam in 2017
Elena	2008	Early 40's	Korean diaspora born in Uzbekistan	2	In Russia through her aunt.	Korean with husband, Korean and Russian with children	- Master's in TESOL in Korea - Pursuing Master's in

and raised in Russia (<i>goryeoin</i>)	Russian Linguistics - Public school after-hour teacher in Russian and English - Husband works for a corporate
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In the first year of my data collection in 2013, I met Asako, Mayumi, Yuni, Jimin, Sophie, and Eunhee and conducted group talks and individual interviews with Asako, Mayumi, and Yuni. As Asako and Mayumi no longer attended the class in 2014 to nurture their new-borns, I continued group talks with Asako and Mayumi outside the classroom (e.g., a coffee shop, a “kid’s café”¹⁰, their home, etc.) in 2014 and 2015. Maiko, Elena, and Youngbee started attending the class in 2014. In July 2014, I conducted a group talk with Maiko, Elena, Sophie, and Eunhee after class. In 2015, Yuni and Eunhee stopped attending the class due to personal matters and changed contact information, and I could no longer get in touch with them.

Asako

Asako is from southern Japan and is in her early thirties. She met her husband at an English as a Second Language (ESL) in Canada when they were still in college. After they returned to their home countries one year later, they continued a long-distance relationship. At that time, Asako worked at a travel agency and a trading company in Japan. In 2002, they got married and moved to Korea, where she continued working as a Japanese language instructor at a private language school. She also worked at a private company as an interpreter, which led to another job as a Japanese language tutor. She stopped working due to her pregnancy in 2013. She

¹⁰ ‘Kid’s Café’ (*khicuchaphey*) are cafés where people pay admission to use large play rooms with multiple equipments for children and beverage and food services in Korea.

usually visits Japan once a year. In terms of her language learning, she had no knowledge of the Korean language before her migration to Korea. Upon her arrival, she attended a KSL class at a four-year university in Insan, where she met Mayumi and Sohee. When the MOGEF started offering free KSL classes for marriage immigrants, she started studying at Multicultural Family Support Centers. She had passed the intermediate level of the TOPIK test and had completed a government social integration program, which gave her an advantage in acquiring permanent resident status in Korea. However, she refuses to earn Korean citizenship and has maintained her Japanese citizenship because Japan does not allow dual citizenship. In terms of daily language use, the medium of communication between her and her husband used to be English and has shifted to Korean since their migration. In 2013, she expressed her intention to communicate with her children in Japanese so that they can be bilingual in Korean and Japanese, and she currently is speaking to her children in Japanese. Since the birth of her children in October 2013, she has stopped attending the KSL class to nurture her babies at home. Asako said she expects to live in Korea for the rest of her life.

Mayumi

Mayumi is from outside Tokyo, Japan, and is in her mid-thirties. Upon graduating from college, she worked as a bar crew at a hotel in Tokyo; however, she found her job exhausting and decided to go to Australia. She initially hoped to settle down in Australia because of the relaxing and peaceful life styles people seemed to have there, and possibly to meet an Australian man. She and her husband met at an ESL school in Australia when they were both there for a working holiday year. According to her, that was when she first became acquainted with Korean culture. Because she was unfamiliar with the Korean language, culture, or people, she took a cautious approach to her decision-making. She lived in Korea for one year prior to her marriage to decide

whether she wanted to permanently live in Korea. After her marriage, she continued learning Korean at Multicultural Family Support Centers with Asako. She had also completed the government's social integration program course and passed the intermediate TOPIK exam in 2013. In terms of her working experiences, while going to language classes in Korea, Mayumi worked at private companies as a Japanese language instructor. When opportunities emerged, she also worked as a private Japanese language tutor as a side job. She worked at a number of different places until she became pregnant with her first son, who is now four years old. In 2013, she gave birth to her second son, who is the same age as Asako's twins. Similar to Asako, she used to communicate with her husband in English before she moved to Korea, but this has shifted to mostly Korean with splashes of Japanese. Her husband has been learning Japanese autonomously by watching Japanese TV dramas and shows. Her son speaks both Japanese and Korean; she used to communicate with him solely in Japanese and started to code-mix after he started attending *eorini jip* (children's house), where children aged between two and four attend before kindergarten. Her oldest son talks to her and her parents in Japanese to her husband in Korean. Asako and Mayumi said they expect to live in Korea for the rest of their lives. Mayumi said she expects to live in Korea for the rest of her life.

Yuni

Yuni is in her mid-twenties from southern Vietnam. She met her during her husband's trip to Vietnam when she had just graduated from high school. They were in a long-distance relationship for a year before she migrated to Korea after marriage in 2006. She learned Korean in Vietnam as preparation for her migration. Similar to Asako and Mayumi, she also used to communicate with her husband in English, which changed to Korean after her migration. She also passed the intermediate TOPIK, completed the social integration program, and had received

the Korean citizenship. She explained that dual citizenship is allowed in Vietnam, and she holds both Korean and Vietnamese citizenship. She has a seven-year-old son who is currently attending kindergarten, which gives her time to have a part-time job. In 2013, she attended Korean classes on Monday and Thursday mornings and worked on other weekdays at an international marriage agency. She worked as an interpreter and a couples' manager, which is similar to a marriage counselor to mediate conflicts between newly arranged couples. Yuni's primary job description included interpreting for initial communications between Korean men and Vietnamese women on the phone before arranged face-to-face meetings, mediating communication barriers between newly married couples, and consulting with Vietnamese wives about language or cultural obstacles they encounter in their initial stage of migration. Yuni's Chinese friend introduced her to the agency after their business started to involve more Vietnamese women. Yuni, however, quit that job in 2014 and became a full-time housewife because her husband suggested they move closer to his parents if she continued to work so that his parents could look after their son. In 2013, the instructor of the KSL class mentioned the tremendous support from Yuni's husband for her college education and career pursuit. Their relationship seems to have changed since then, and they got divorced in 2015. At home, she taught Vietnamese to her son every day. The main medium of communication between her and her son was Vietnamese unless her husband was present, and her son speaks to her parents in Vietnamese. As for her husband, he was autonomously learning Vietnamese at home in 2013.

Jimin

Jimin is from northern Vietnam and is in her early thirties. She has a son who is in the first grade. She holds a bachelor's degree in Early Childhood Education from a four-year university in Vietnam and had worked as a kindergarten teacher before she migrated to Korea in 2003. Her marriage was arranged by an international marriage agency, and her husband works for a mid-size company affiliated with a major corporation. She has mostly stayed home since she migrated to Korea, but similar to most of the participants, she works as a part-time multicultural lecturer at public schools. In the KSL class, she said she wanted to continue her career as a kindergarten teacher. In 2015, she also started working as an agent for an international pyramid cosmetic company. Like Yuni, she also holds dual citizenships from Vietnam and Korea. In terms of language use, she speaks mostly in Korean with her son, who strongly resists against her speaking Vietnamese. She used to speak both in Vietnamese and Korean to her son until he entered a kindergarten, so her son can speak Vietnamese to a limited degree; however, the medium of their communication has shifted to Korean. In class, her nickname is "Angel" because of her generous and understanding personality, which becomes relevant in discussing gender ideologies in class.

Maiko

Maiko is from Tokyo, Japan, and is in her late thirties. She majored in accounting at a university in Japan and worked at an accountant's office before she met her husband. They were in New Zealand for a working holiday when they first met. Their initial plan was to live in Korea temporarily and move to a third country after saving enough money, as he had just started his career when they got married in 2007. As a result, she felt unnecessary to actively learn Korean and achieve proficiency in Korean for the initial three years of her migration, and she

communicated in English with her husband instead. After the three years, she started attending one of the most well-known language program at a university in Seoul, because their settlement in Korea was becoming more permanent. The medium of their communication thus used to be English and has shifted to Korean. In 2014, she had newly moved to Insan for her husband's career change. She desires to work for an accountant in Korea after her son enters elementary school, which will allow her more free time to pursue her career. She visits Japan once or twice a year and is considering moving to Japan for her son's education since she regards Korean education too stressful and competitive. Like other Japanese participants of the study, she communicates with her son in Japanese unless her husband is present. Similar to Asako and Mayumi, she has permanent residency but has no interest in Korean citizenship.

Sophie

Sophie is from a metropolitan part of Cambodia and is in her late twenties. She met her husband through an international marriage agency when she was 20 years old and migrated to Korea in 2008. Since Cambodia allows dual citizenship for its citizens like Vietnam, Sophie also holds dual citizenship from Korea and Cambodia. She currently has a six-year-old daughter and lives in an agricultural suburb with her parents-in-law, which is approximately 20 minutes away by bus from the center. Since she did not finish high school in Cambodia and hopes to enter college in Korea, she has been preparing for the national qualification exam for high school. Prior to marriage, she taught the basics of Cambodian to her husband, and he communicated with her in Cambodian since at the early stage of their marriage her Korean was highly limited. According to her, he can still speak basic Cambodian, but the medium of their communication is Korean. With her daughter, she only speaks in Korean because she considers it is unnecessary for her daughter to speak Cambodian in Korea. She, on the other hand, plans to return to

Cambodia after raising her daughter regardless of her husband's decision, which indicates that she maintains her marriage for the sake of her daughter rather than the relationship between her and her husband. She is one of a few students in class who did not take the intermediate level of the TOPIK, and the instructor often encouraged her to do so to find a stable career. She started working as a part-time Cambodian multicultural lecturer at public schools in 2014 and was simultaneously taking special agricultural classes offered by the center. She attends Korean class in the morning and works at a farm with her mother-in-law in the afternoon unless she has a multicultural class to teach. Sophie stopped coming to the class due to personal issues in 2015.

Eunhee

Eunhee is from the country side of Cambodia and is in her late twenties. She met her husband through an international marriage agency after graduating from high school and migrated to Korea after marriage in 2007. Eunhee also holds dual citizenship from Cambodia and Korea. She has two sons, seven and five years old respectively. She communicates with her sons in Korean due to their resistance to learn or speak Cambodian. Since she has been speaking partially in Cambodian to them, they can understand it to a limited degree. She moved to Insan not long before my initial data collection started from a smaller neighboring city. Her husband is a farmer, and she lives with her mother-in-law. Her father-in-law has lived in another city for work but was moving back to Insan soon. In early 2014, Eunhee's husband invited his sister to move in with them without Eunhee's consent. As resistance against her marginalized position in their marriage, she moved out without informing her husband and stayed with her Cambodian friend, who was legally separated from her husband. She returned home when her sister-in-law moved out. A few months later, Eunhee started working part-time as a multicultural lecturer at a public elementary school and as an interpreter at the center. By the winter 2014, however, she

stopped attending the class due to undisclosed personal issues. According to Jimin, who had contacted with Eunhee occasionally, Eunhee returned to the previous city in 2015.

Youngbee

Youngbee is from central Vietnam and is in her mid-twenties. Her family owns great amounts of properties, and many of her relatives are well-established professionals and government officials in her hometown in Vietnam. She also talked about her childhood memories when her parents are often away for business and she spent most of her time with servants and nannies. She first came to Korea as an international graduate student at a university in Seoul. While pursuing a Master's degree, she also worked as an interpreter for the Human Resources Development of Korea where she met her husband. According to her, he fell in love with her at first sight while she simply thought he was a nice man. They started dating when they worked together in Seoul and got married after she earned her degree. They moved to Insan because he was stationed at the Insan regional office. During summer 2014, she was a part-time interpreter and frequently visited Seoul for work. In September 2014, she became pregnant and stopped attending the KSL class due to the morning sickness and fatigue. Her husband expects to be working at the Vietnamese office of the Human Resources Development of Korea for three years starting in 2017, meaning they will move to Vietnam for at least three years. She has not clarified whether or not they will return to Korea after the three years. Of a particular interest is that in class, she often expresses her resistance against the representations of marriage immigrant women and the imposition of gender ideologies in Korea.

Elena

She is Korean diaspora born in Uzbekistan and raised in Russia, who is in her early forties. She identifies herself as *Goryeo-in*, which refers to Korean diaspora residing in Russia.

Her family migrated to Russia when she was an elementary school student, where she lived until she graduated from university. She entered a university late and had just finished her Bachelor's degree in English education when her aunt introduced her to her husband. He was working at a Russian branch of a Korean company, which is one of the major corporations with the highest salary in Korea. They moved to Korea six months after their marriage in December 2008 and currently they have two children. Her son is a third grader, and her daughter is six years old. Her strongest languages are Korean and Russian, as her parents are also Korean diaspora and spoke Korean at home. She also speaks English and has earned a Master's degree in TESOL at a university in Incheon. She started teaching both Russian and English for an after-hour program at a public high school in 2014. In 2015, she started a second Master's program in Russian linguistics at a four-year foreign language university in a neighboring city. Her current home language with her husband and children is Korean, but she also speaks in Russian to her children to raise them as bilinguals. It is also because she has been considering moving to Russia for her children's education when her son enters a middle school because she dislikes the highly competitive nature of Korean education. She and her children usually spend summer vacation in Russia, and the couple plan to temporarily move to Russia after her husband's retirement.

3.3. Data

3.3.1. Policy documents

The data collection of this study originally started with the South Korea's Multicultural Families Support Act, from both the original legal documents available online and the highlighted summary statements on the official website of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF) in 2013. In addition, the annual plans by the second edition of the

Multicultural Family Policy General Plan (2013-2017), which was issued in December 2012, were analyzed to investigate the possible changes in the policy discourses on multilingualism and marriage immigrants. My first step was to understand the general public discourses that strongly impact the public images of immigrant women before I started my field work; as van Dijk (2008) pointed out, political discourses function as gatekeeping when immigrants first enters the country and systemic conditions of their positionalities in the country. My data analyses are primarily conducted with the original Korean version of the policy statements, in that the policy has stronger currency in Korea, and also because Korean is the language in which those statements were originally created and distributed. I do, however, include the English versions as well when relevant since the translated texts are also provided by the MOGEF on their official website for transnationals who speak other languages. When the existing English translation seems inadequate to deliver ideologies that are apparent in the Korean version, I have added my own translation and comments to supplement the analyses.

3.3.2. Recordings of marriage immigrant women's interactions

The next step was to investigate how the language ideologies (re)produced in the policy discourses were contested or resonated with marriage immigrant women's daily lives and their agency or lack of it. I collected audio-recorded data of interactions among marriage immigrant women over nine months from May to August 2013 and May to December 2014. When I contacted the Insan Suburb-ri Multicultural Family Support Center, the center representatives expressed discomfort with video-recording due to privacy and safety issues and expressed strong reluctance towards my desire to re-visit the following year for further data collection. Their reluctance was about having an outside researcher for a long period time may possibly interrupt learners' learning, create tension in classroom, or have the Korean language program wrongly

represented. It was particularly challenging as the center was run as part of the government's policy. After negotiating with and explaining the purpose of my research to the center representatives and the Korean language instructor, I decided to observe and take field notes without recording for a couple of weeks until the learners became comfortable with my presence in class. After two weeks, I started to audio-record classroom interactions. My first recordings were collected from May to August 2013. The next year, I returned to the same class and collected recordings for three more months. After I returned to the United States, the instructor continued recording and emailed them to me from September to December 2014. The recordings of classroom interactions totaled more than 100 hours.

In addition to classroom interactions, I also audio-recorded over 30 hours of group talks either at a coffee shop, a kid's café, or participants' home from 2013 to 2015. I chose coffee shops because that is one of the most common place to socialize in Korea, and having the interactions in a classroom or laboratory would make the participants feel uncomfortable or unnatural. I conducted the first group talk with Asako, Mayumi, and Yuni at a local coffee shop in July 2013 and continued to meet with Asako and Mayumi the following years outside classroom because they were no longer attending the KSL class after they had children. In July 2014, I conducted another group talk with Sophie, Eunhee, Maiko, and Elena at a coffee shop across from the center after the class. Other than Elena, three participants in this group were more familiar with me since I had first met them in 2013. I also conducted individual interviews with three participants, Mayumi, Yuni, and Sohee, for approximately two hours respectively at coffee shops. To supplement these audio-recordings, I also collected materials provided on site including the textbooks used in class, which is titled "Korean with Marriage Immigrants" (*kyelhon iminca-wa hamkkey hanun hankwuke*) 4 and 5, classroom handouts distributed by

Hyemin, quarterly magazines on marriage immigrants issued by the MOGEF in multiple languages, and flyers from local organizations as well as the center. They are used in analyses when relevant in the participants' interactions.

3.3.3. *Media data: 'Love in Asia'*

Both in classroom and coffee shop interactions, Vietnamese participants brought up the television program 'Love in Asia'. As they emerged in my data and considering the influence of media discourse on the public image on immigrants (van Dijk, 2008), I decided to analyze the representations of marriage immigrants on the television program. The selected show, 'Love in Asia' was the first and the most well-known television program to represent marriage immigrant women's lives in Korea (Oh & Lee, 2011), aired weekly on a major public television channel, the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS). Each episode is 48 to 54 minutes in length, and the first episode of 'Love in Asia' was aired in November 2005 and the last in February 2015. Due to an extensive amount of data, I first limited to the episodes portraying women from the same countries as the focal participants of this study to understand the participants' insights more in-depth. The data added up to 64 episodes about Vietnam (14% of all the episodes), the most frequently aired country. Cambodia was the second most frequently aired country with 30 episodes (6.6%) among the participants' home countries, Russia were in 12 episodes, and Japan and Uzbekistan in 13 episodes. Since the participants from Vietnam mentioned the show, I narrowed the focus on the episodes with women from Vietnam. The show consists of on-stage interviews with a couple, narrated documentaries of their daily lives and their sponsored travel to Vietnam, talk show with other marriage immigrant women panels, and other temporary projects (e.g., 'Our Language Expedition,' 'Sister's Coming to You,' etc.). I excluded the episodes where Vietnamese women are in such sub-corners and analyzed those that focus on their stories. I

transcribed narrations, interviews, and aired interactions to find recurring themes. After transcribing approximately 30 episodes, I noticed and narrowed my focus to repeating topics, positioning, and discursive construction patterns. When the transcribing was complete, I coded recurring themes to grasp a general picture of how the women were portrayed. The media data were analyzed more in general than the face-to-face interaction recordings because of the extensive amount of data and the purpose of analyzing media discourse was to examine dominant images that are constructed for the public.

3.4. Transcription

The audio recordings of the 100 hours of classroom data and 30 hours of group talk data were reviewed repeatedly to identify recurring topics that emerged from the participant interactions. The special topic lectures and parts of linguistic lectures focusing on problem-solving and practicing have been excluded. This led to 10 to 20 minutes of transcribed interaction in each class, which added up to approximately a total of 12 hours of classroom data. From 30 hours of the group talk data, I transcribed approximately 10 hours. Transcriptions of Korean for both the face-to-face interactions and media narrations include a three-tier system with Yale romanizations of Korean, interlinear glossings, and idiomatic translations when necessary, and paralinguistic features of the data were transcribed according to Jefferson (2004) in detail. Considering that transcripts are selective, subjective, and thus subject to change (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008), the analysis addressed questions of what was said, when it was said, how it was said, and who said it in the transcribed data.

Regarding the transcription for face-to-face interactions in this study, a particular concern pertained to the fact that the participants speak Korean as L2. As a result, the transcripts included

various pronunciations, intonations, grammar patterns, and word selections. By following the basic principles of the transcription, I tried to represent the actual pronunciation as closely as possible. While the non-standard linguistic features are not the main focus of the analysis, they can also be good resources to indicate the participants' multiple and hybrid selves. For example, some linguistic features produced by the participants were influenced by their L1, but others showed the influence of the regional dialect spoken in Insan. When the data included vocabulary choices, grammar patterns, intonation, and pronunciation distinctively particular to the regional dialect, I tried to represent the paralinguistic features following Jefferson (2004) or in the footnotes. In addition, most of the group talk data occurred at coffee shops rather than a quiet environment that was equipped for data collection, which was done in order to provide comfortable and natural surroundings for the participants. Consequently, most of the data include conversations with people who are not research participants (e.g., people sitting at the next table, a café employee, the participants' new born babies, etc.), and their interactions were excluded from the transcripts although they are hearable and sometimes louder than the participants' interaction.

3.5. Summary

In this chapter, I overviewed contexts of this dissertation, data collection, and participant profiles. The history of international marriage started with local governments' proactive support and promotion as a solution to the low birth rate and gender imbalance in marriage market and increased dramatically through 2000's. As the issue of marriage immigrant women's human rights violation drew societal attention, policy and media discourses began to discuss the matter in the late 2000's. As a result, the Multicultural Family Support Law was implemented and the

Multicultural Family Support Centers have been run as part of the support policy. Data collection of this dissertation started with extracting policy documents from the official website of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the original policy texts to understand surrounding discourses and contexts of marriage immigrant women. I then collected interactional at a Multicultural Family Support Center located in the suburb of a large industrial city with strong economy, which is reflected in the socioeconomic status of nine focal participants. Lastly, I collected media data of the television show ‘Love in Asia’ which represents marriage immigrants in Korea considering the influence of media on public discourse of immigrants and because it emerged in the women’s interaction. The next chapter will introduce the methodological frameworks to analyze the data.

CHAPTER 4. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter will introduce methodological and analytical frameworks of this dissertation. The first section focuses on ethnographic discourse analysis, an overall approach of this dissertation. The following sections introduce the perspectives I adopt in the analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the notion of representation that draws on the poststructuralism that highlights the role of language in constructing discourses through particular voices. Lastly, I discuss the positionality of the researcher.

4.1. Ethnographic Discourse Analysis

To gain a holistic understanding of discourses surrounding marriage immigrant women in Korea and the role of language in construction of the discourses, I take an ethnographic approach to discourse analysis, in that ethnography allows researchers to analyze the actual realities of language use by people in order to obtain a holistic picture of language learning and use in globalization (Blommaert, 2003) through a long-term and holistic perspective (Watson-Gegeo, 1997, p. 134). In collecting and interpreting data, ethnographic studies employ multiple methods that are appropriate for the given data and analysis, which usually include participant observation, field notes, interviews, analysis of written texts, and recorded interactions. Not only do ethnographic studies take account of historical, cultural, and political discourses surrounding the study, but they also take an emic approach to data analysis, which stresses people's agency in responding to the ideologies imposed on them. To this end, discourse analytic approaches can complement ethnography given the purpose of discourse analysis to understand language use by

people in the real world. Discourse analysis, in other words, can provide detailed interactive data and valuable microanalysis of the participants' interactions to complement other longitudinal and observatory ethnographic data and warrant the claims of an ethnographic study. On the other hand, theoretical concepts (e.g., social class, power, culture, etc.) which ethnography is interested in can contribute to a better understanding of the complex sociocultural contexts and the dynamics of the given interaction when they are properly incorporated in discourse analysis (Atkinson, Okada, and Talmy, 2011).

Ethnographic discourse analysis started with ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964) which studies how language is used to achieve sociocultural purposes in sociocultural contexts by analyzing speech events that are communicatively conventionalized through speech acts to understand human life, in many aspects of which language plays a significant role. On the other hand, microethnography (Erickson, 1992) takes more constructive perspectives to investigate more implicit, fleeting, and shifting meanings constituted in face-to-face interactions over shorter periods of time by drawing various methodological frameworks including interactional sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and ethnography of communication to study educational settings (Garces, 2008). According to Erickson (1992), microethnography aims to “document the process” in “greater detail and precision than is possible with ordinary participant observation and interviewing,” to “test carefully the validity of characterizations of intent and meaning that more general ethnography may claim,” and to “identify *how* routine processes of interaction are organized, in contrast to describing *what* interaction occurs” (p. 204). Considering the crucial role language plays in constructing social meanings and orders in daily discursive practices, microethnography can provide concrete examples of how social interactions are constituted through discourse and shed light on understanding larger social orders. In this vein,

ethnographic study of immigrant women's second language learning and socialization and social and ideological contexts surrounding them can benefit from microanalysis of interactions by attending not only to the information available in a particular interaction of particular individuals but to the information beyond the interaction through more general social research and participant observation (p. 206).

Investigating immigrant women's second language learning also requires discussion of the larger sociohistorical contexts that their immigration and language learning have emerged from and are situated in, as well as microanalysis of the interaction that grounds and warrants larger ethnographic findings. Menard-Warwick (2009) and Norton (2000) are examples of ethnographic discourse analysis in immigrant women's second language learning and socialization. Menard-Warwick (2009) investigated Latina immigrant women's language learning and literacies at adult ESL programs in California to excavate the women's perspectives on the relationship of their educational opportunities and the family, gendered ideologies in their communities and their gendered identity construction, and the influence of gendered practices and ideologies on their language learning. As an ethnographic discourse analyst, she employed a variety of data sources, including 180 hours of participant observation, ethnographic field notes (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998), interviews, and audiotaped classroom interactions. Also, she adopted multiple analytical approaches to the collected data, including analysis of social positioning (Davis & Harré, 1990) in narratives, case studies, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of gendered positioning. The data analysis also triangulated interview narratives and field notes with the classroom interactions to "contextualize microanalyses of closely transcribed audiotaped classroom interaction discourse" (p. 106). In sum, her study provided detailed description of

moment-by-moment interactions through microanalysis of interactional data and the surrounding larger ideologies that affect and are affected by the given interactions.

Drawing from feminist poststructuralist research, Norton (2000) also triangulated multiple data of questionnaire, essays, diaries, interviews, and participant observation to analyze immigrant women's discursive practices and investigate to what extent and how adult immigrant women's language learning interacts with the larger social power relations in the context of Canada. The data for the study were collected over a two-year-period at an ESL program in Canada, and her position granted her access to the adult immigrant learners to gain longitudinal perspectives in the ethnographic claims. The initial stage of the data collection was administered as a questionnaire, which was narrowed down to the focal participants for further interviews and diary projects. By analyzing multidimensional data from five women in depth, Norton provided rich descriptions of immigrant women's identities, the role of these identities in language learning, and the connection between the larger power discourses and immigrant women's second language learning.

Another related methodological approach to this dissertation is critical ethnography, which orients to "a coherent set of philosophical assumptions, disciplinary tradition, and analytical focus" which can be "realized by a variety of specific methods" (Canagarajah; 1999, p. 53) given the importance of looking at both local and larger ideologies and contexts of second language learning. As Canagarajah (1999) emphasized, researchers should look at the larger historical social processes that enabled the study that emerge through the informants' words (p. 48). Watson-Gegeo (1992) also stressed the importance of uncovering both historical relationships in the immediate context and the relevant larger historical and social contexts for an adequate ethnographic description (p. 53). To this end, several researchers (Canagarajah, 1999;

Duff, 2002; Norton, 2000; Talmy, 2004, 2008, 2009) have conducted critical ethnographic studies in L2 classrooms, sometimes using discourse analytical frameworks as well. Talmy's (2008, 2009) studies incorporated microanalysis of interaction in critical ethnography by providing in-depth analysis of classroom interactions as evidence to the larger ethnographic findings of the studies and as examples of how the larger power relations are constituted in interactions. This dissertation will draw on the previous ethnographic studies that take a critical approach to study marriage immigrant women's identities and representations of them in South Korea, especially Norton (2000) and Menard-Warwick (2009) that elaborated the gendered nature of immigrant women's language learning.

4.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

4.2.1. Theoretical underpinnings of CDA

As one of the methodological approach of this dissertation, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will help uncover ideologies of multiculturalism and multilingualism, including assimilationism and pluralism, and ideologies of gender surrounding marriage immigrant women by revealing how they are created, circulated, interpreted, enacted, challenged, or resisted through discourse. This dissertation adopts CDA as 'perspective' (van Dijk, 2008, p. 85) to recognize the texts as socially constructed and as creations and reflections of the power relations by analyzing beyond the individual texts and investigating the processes of discourse and social contexts. Specifically, this study focuses on the works of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995) to analyze different dimensions of discourses on marriage immigrant women in policy, media, and conversational interactions.

CDA emphasizes the crucial role language plays in (re)producing and changing social and cultural power relations (Fairclough, 1989), considering the access to influential discourses such as policy or media grants the control, in other words power, over people's minds (van Dijk, 2008). In this view, "discourse both reflects and constructs the social world" and thus discourse analysts view language use as always social and analyze it beyond sentences or clauses (Rogers, 2004, p. 5). That is, the purpose of CDA is to uncover relations between socially constructed and conditioned language use and ideological and social dimensions of such language use. By discovering social and ideological dimensions of discourses, CDA aims to investigate how discourses can expose, reveal, create, challenge, and ultimately transform and alternate ideologies and social orders.

With these theoretical underpinnings, Fairclough (1992) outlined a methodological framework of CDA by conceptualizing three dimensions of discourse: *discourse-as-text*, *discourse-as-discursive-practices*, and *discourse-as-social-practice*. Corresponding to the three dimensions of discourse, his book *Language and Power* (1989, 1995) provided three analytical stages of CDA to investigate each dimension of discourse: description, interpretation, and explanation. First, description refers to analysis of *discourse-as-text*, textual and micro-linguistic analysis of the text. In describing the text, choices of vocabulary (e.g., word meaning, wording, metaphors, etc.), grammar (e.g., voice, mode, modality, sentence structure, cohesion, agency, etc.), and textual structures (e.g., turn-taking system, interruption, politeness, etc.) are closely analyzed. The second stage of interpretation analyzes *discourse-as-discursive-practices* by investigating the process of production, distribution, and consumption of discourse with regards to social orders and interactional history. Representations, semantics, pragmatics (e.g., speech acts) of the text are interpreted in this stage in relation to the interpretation of situational and

intertextual contexts. In other words, contents, subjects, relations, and connections of discourse are discussed in examining institutional and social orders in which the discourses are created and circulated. To interpret *discourse-as-discursive-practices*, Fairclough (1989) summarized three categories of questions to ask: *context* (what interpretations are given to the situational and intertextual contexts?), *discourse types* (what rules of phonology, vocabulary, grammar, sentence cohesion, semantics, pragmatics are being drawn upon?), and *difference and change* (do such contexts and discourse types change during the interaction or are they different for participants?). Lastly, the third stage of explanation analyzes *discourse-as-social-practice* to “portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 163). This stage investigates situational determinants and effects of discourse by analyzing power relations that help shape the discourse, ideologies being drawn upon, and effects of the discourse in relations to sustaining or transforming such ideologies and power relations.

To analyze discourses in relation to social and intertextual contexts, Gee’s (1996) concept of little “d” and big “D” discourse is also relevant. Little “d” is language and grammar that are used in constructing the contents, which is similar to *discourse-as-text* in Fairclough (1992), and big “D” discourse refers to beliefs, values, representations that are in the language use, similar to Fairclough’s *discourse-as-social practice*. He lists the inherent characteristics of Discourse, the first of which being the ideological nature of Discourse that inherits values and beliefs. Second, Discourses defy self-criticism in that they only accept criticism that does not jeopardize the ideologies that are produced by them. Third, Discourses operate in relation to other Discourses, including the possibly of opposing ones. Discourse also foregrounds certain viewpoints as

common sense (Fairclough, 1989) and as hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) and accordingly marginalizes others. Lastly, Discourses have a highly close relation to the distribution of ideological power and hierarchy. To uncover such relations, CDA examines “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak and Meyer; 2009, p. 10).

4.2.2. Discourses on Korean marriage immigrants

Recently, there have been an increasing number of studies in South Korea that investigated policy or media discourses on marriage immigrants, multicultural families, or multicultural education in relation to larger social contexts, ideologies, and power relations across disciplines. Lee’s (2013) doctoral dissertation adopted Fairclough’s (1989) three dimensions and stages of CDA to uncover underlying ideologies in the multicultural education policies of South Korea to investigate local enactment of or resistance against them. Her analyses examined the lexical choices used in the policy texts, and interpretation and negotiation of such policy texts in the implements of the policy at local institutions. By doing so, her study aimed to understand the social and ideological dimensions of the policy discourse and reveal possible transformations of the discourse. By triangulating policy texts with interview data for people in the field, her analyses showed clear assimilationist perspectives in the multicultural education policy discourse in which “children from multicultural families are conceptualized, classified, and divided into a particular category, that is, a socially vulnerable group who needs strong support from the government” based on a cultural deficit paradigm (p. 110). This consequently neutralizes and thus reproduces the assimilationist attitude by repeatedly creating “borders between native Korean children, as ‘we’ or ‘general students,’ and children from multicultural families, as ‘others’” (p. 109). Her study sheds light on understanding the social orders that

construct discourses on multiculturalism in Korea and the social effects such discourses make on sustaining or transforming the hegemonic ideologies on multiculturalism.

Also using CDA, Kim (2012) investigated media discourses on immigrants by analyzing the articles and columns published from 1990 to 2009, by three major newspapers that represent conservative and progressive political views. The study aimed to uncover ideological underpinnings of discourses on immigrants to discover why particular ideological discourses were constructed. The study revealed how seemingly positive discourses that legitimize acceptance of immigrants actually “obfuscate the reality of the subtle, subversive, and often hidden forms that racism takes” (p. 663) in Korean society. The closely investigated analyses of newspaper data illustrated how such positive attitudes towards immigrants on the surface victimized immigrants by objectifying them and portraying them as helpless while avoiding valid discussions of empowering immigrants. The newspaper discourses on immigrants were predominantly constructed with a positive voice to support and accept them with positive rhetoric of ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘diversity’ while detailed discussion in fact positioned them in negative stereotypes as ‘victimized,’ ‘poor,’ and ‘manipulable’. To understand the rationale for such seemingly positive discourses on immigrants in spite of marginalization that lied beneath such discourses, the study looked into the neo-liberal ideology on globalization and the South Korean government’s nationalistic agenda in promoting the notion of multiculturalism in societal discourses.

Drawing upon the theoretical and methodological frameworks of CDA and in resonance with the previous studies investigating multicultural discourses in Korea, this dissertation investigates different levels of societal discourses on marriage immigrant women in three stages of description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough, 1989). I will analyze the policy and

media texts by examining vocabulary choices (e.g., word meaning, wording, euphemism, etc.), grammar (e.g., syntactic structure, agency, voice, nominalization, modality suffixes, etc.), cohesion, and text structure. As noted in Foucault (1972), “everything is never said” (p. 118) in discourse; thus, I also discuss what is omitted, avoided, and unsaid which indicates the boundaries of acceptable discourses regarding immigrants and multiculturalism in Korea. As Kim (2012) pointed out, Korean media discourses often leave the discussion of actual empowerment of immigrants as well as power and inequality unsaid when discussing tolerance for cultural diversity.

In analyzing discourse as discursive practice “produced, circulated, distributed, consumed” in certain social and institutional contexts (Blommaert, 2005, p. 25), I take account of institutional and social contexts of the creation and distribution of policy and media discourses on marriage immigrant women, contents and topics of the discourses, and how they are consumed and possibly challenged as concrete linguistic objects. The representations of marriage immigrant women in policy and media discourses are discussed in regards to who constructed and circulated them and how they are interpreted by consumers, especially by marriage immigrant women themselves. Bridging the discursive and social dimensions of discourse on marriage immigrant women, the macro socioeconomic, sociocultural, and historical contexts of the international marriage in South Korea in which the discourses are produced and distributed are also examined to investigate how marriage immigrant women are positioned in the discourses and how they respond to such discourses. In examining the underpinning ideologies and power relations that shape policy and media discourses of marriage immigrant women in the context of international marriage and marriage immigrant women in Korea, I interpret the policy statements based on the categories and criteria that were provided by the texts themselves, which

are reflecting and reproducing the underpinning ideologies (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). Drawing from the ultimate purpose of CDA, this dissertation also sheds light on “the emergence of new orders of discourse, struggles over normativity, attempts at control, and resistance against regimes of power” (Blommaert, 2005) to possibly contribute to change and improvement in representations of marriage immigrant women at different levels of societal discourses.

4.3. Post-structuralism and Representation

The last analytical approach of this dissertation is the post-structuralist notion of representation. In a poststructuralist framework, language is defined as a source of power (Weedon, 1987) and a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), or “a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions” (Heller, 2007, p. 2). Language thus plays a crucial role in discursively constructing our everchanging and multiple sense of self. Hence, investigating how language constitutes specific representation in the given discourse can contribute to understanding people’s agency in relation to larger social structure and ideologies. Drawing from the poststructuralist framework that focuses on how selves are constructed discursively, my analyses pose questions such as “whose discourses and voices are represented?,” “how are the women’s agency shown in their discursive representations?,” and “what are the social, historical, and political conditions that legitimize certain subject positions and discourses?” by examining linguistic resources that are used to represent specific voices in policy, media, and the women’s interactions. For instance, I will investigate whose voices are represented in discourses that represent marriage immigrant women and how particular voices and subject positions are

legitimized through discourse. In the microanalyses of the women's interaction, their constructions of selves will be examined discursively by locating spaces for their agency in negotiating between other-imposed and self-imagined identities in response to dominant discourses surrounding them in Korea. The interplay between language use and larger ideologies represented in the women's interactions will demonstrate how transnational selves discursively construct and negotiate subject positions in response to the imposed hegemonic discourses in the context of globalization in Korea.

Poststructuralist sociolinguistics foregrounds the possibilities for agency and resistance in discussing subjectivity and its place in relation to power and larger discourses (Higgins, 2011; Kramsch, 2012; Menard-Warwick, 2004, 2008; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Pavlenko, 2001). This is important in my dissertation to investigate how and to what degree marriage immigrant women respond to the hegemonic discourses around them. With attentiveness to the disjunctures as well as the dynamics in blurred social boundaries and categories in the late-modern world (Morgan, 2007), poststructuralism recognizes that L2 selves are often imposed by hegemonic ideologies in dominant discourses. People, however, may choose to resist them and develop their own subject positions by creating countering discourse. Poststructuralist researchers investigate this negotiation process between the self and other through discourse and emphasize human agency (Higgins, 2011; Norton, 2000). The poststructuralist perspective that recognizes agency in people's discursive constructions are important in critical discourse analytic and ethnographic studies as well, as Talmy (2010) argued, in order to illuminate how people exercise agency in enacting, accommodating, resisting, or transforming the hegemonic ideologies and ultimately bringing social changes, which critically-oriented methodologies aim to achieve.

In understanding people's agency and resistance in discursive practices, Bourdieu's (1986) notion of capital also becomes relevant. One's *economic capital* (e.g., wealth, income, property, etc.), *cultural capital* (e.g., educational credentials, knowledge, appreciation of specific cultural forms, etc.), and *social capital* (connections to networks of power) or lack of each capital can function as affordances (Darvin & Norton, 2015) or as constraints in exercising their agency. Furthermore, *symbolic capital* which refers to the form capitals take "once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 4) indicates the fluidity and dynamics of capital itself as it moves across temporal and spatial spaces (Menard-Warwick, 2009), which is relevant to understanding transnationals' agency in their discursive practices. Their symbolic capital, in other words, may be recognized as legitimate, perceived as more valuable, or delegitimized in a new community and consequently affect their agency in different ways. People may also utilize such capitals that extend beyond boundaries in order to exercise agency in the social space based on trajectory of their capital. Bourdieu's (1991) argument that "having the power to produce existence by producing the collectively recognized, and thus realized, representation of existence" (p. 42) also sheds light on multilinguals' agency and resistance. Representations of reality discursively constituted by people, in this view, have the power to "offer an alternative representation and have it collectively recognized and accepted" (Morgan, 2007, p. 494). The analyses of the women's interactions will adopt Bourdieu's (1986) notion of *symbolic capital* to investigate how the women utilize different capital from both their home cultures and new in order to exercise agency by foregrounding and legitimizing alternative voices and worldviews as well as by delegitimizing the imposed ideologies.

In sum, poststructuralism's attention to the role of language in constructing representation can provide in-depth description of how people use language to foreground and background

particular voices, legitimize or delegitimize certain ideologies and subject positions, exercise agency that may be constrained or afforded by their symbolic capital, and create space for alternative voices. Examining people's own language use in discursive representation of selves and others can thus strengthen the emic approach of ethnographic discourse analysis while demonstrating the legitimizing process of chosen ideologies and subject positions in discourse that CDA aims to uncover.

4.4. Positioning the Researcher

Considering that “the researcher herself is necessarily a focal participant in her own research” (Menard-Warwick, 2009, p. 15) and that data and interpretations of them in qualitative research are constructed and presented through the researcher's perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), it is important to recognize and explain my positionality as part of the data of this dissertation. After I left Korea to pursue my graduate study in 2008, I started noticing the increasing number of foreigners in Korea each time I returned. At the same time, it was during the time period when the number of marriage immigrant women increased and societal attention toward them started to grow, as the MOGEF started publishing statistics of the multicultural families and implemented the Multicultural Families Support Act. I became concerned about the human rights violations committed on marriage immigrant women reported in media and the portrayal of them as ‘more Korean than Korean’ or ‘same as Korean wives,’ which neglected the diversity of their identities and reinforced ideologies of assimilation. Even though my data collection was to be somewhat limited since I lived in the United States and could only spend three months of the year in Korea, I wanted to look closely into the lives of marriage immigrant women and represent their voices in different layers of social discourses.

Before I visited Korea in the summer of 2013, I emailed several Multicultural Families Support Centers in the Insan city, where I am from. As I expected, however, there was no response from any of the centers I had contacted. Therefore, I used my personal networks with people who worked for the local government, and I finally received approval from the director of the Insan Suburb Multicultural Families Support Center. This, consequently, positioned me as an outsider to the staffs at the center, and the director was hesitant to allow me to observe classes and record classroom interactions, since the center was part of the MOGEF policy and thus at high stake if I exposed something negative. I explained the scope of my study was not to evaluate the performance of the center but to explore marriage immigrant women's language learning and socialization, and the center was a great site where women from different countries gather on a regular basis. I also requested to talk to Hyemin of the KSL class, who initially was also concerned about possible misrepresentation and evaluation of her teaching methods. However, after I explained the focus of my study, she became very supportive and shared stories and her experiences with me.

In class, I was introduced as another Korean language teacher from the Insan City who currently teaches Korean in the United States, so the women addressed me as *seonsaengnim* (teacher). During in-class activities, Hyemin also occasionally asked me to help students with their assignments and in-class activities. After two years, they still addressed me as 'teacher' although I was no longer observing or assisting the class. After Hyemin explained that I was interested in their Korean language learning and lives in Korea, I sat in the back of the class while taking field notes and observing the class. I shared my field notes when Hyemin or students were interested. I began to have more opportunities to talk with them during the break

time as the participants often brought snacks and the entire class sat around and had casual conversations. It was the time when the participants learned about each other the most as well.

When I asked them to join me at a coffee shop after class, having observed them for two months in July 2013, Mayumi, Asako, and Yuni joined me since the others worked after class. It was on that day when the three women showed their personal interests in my life for the first time. Mayumi said, 'I have many many questions to ask you. I'm so curious' (Coffee talk, 07/17/2013). Their questions were mostly about studying and living abroad, coping with loneliness or homesickness, and having romantic relationships with men outside my nationality. As I shared my life stories, they started positioning me as another transnational woman whose life shared common ground with their own, which seemed to have influenced their discursive constructions with me thereafter. After they asked about my stories, they shared their stories of living abroad and dating someone outside their nationalities. After that, Asako and Mayumi introduced me to two other participants (Chie, Sohee) who had also met their husbands outside Korea (Canada and China, respectively) and moved to Korea after marriage. When I asked the new participants to join me at a coffee shop the following year, similar positioning of the researcher happened; Elena and Maiko also asked questions about my life in the United States and about my dating life. In addition, my positionality as a woman who understands Korean culture but also shares perspectives that extend beyond Korea seems to frame the interaction in a certain way, in that they frequently shared complaints about in-law relations and gendered ideologies on marriage in Korea.

I should note that it was more challenging to approach the participants whose marriage was arranged by a marriage agency and who had to work after class to financially support their family. This resonates with the research of Norton (2000) whose participants were also relatively

privileged compared to other women who had heavier responsibilities as wives or mothers to support the familial duties, which also highlights the gendered nature of the women's second language learning and socialization. Not only was this due to their busy schedule and time constraints, but they also seemed less likely to discuss and share their personal stories with an outside researcher. In an interview (05/20/2013), Hyemin, the KSL teacher, informed me that many learners stop learning the language once they reach the proficiency level high enough to communicate and work because they have to financially support their family, phenomenon found in other immigrant contexts (e.g., Menard-Warwick, 2009). In advanced level classes, therefore, there are more women who are middle class with relatively less responsibilities as wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law. Furthermore, my positionality as a graduate student who lives abroad may have made myself more accessible to those with similar life experiences of studying and living abroad. In analyzing the data, therefore, I consider my positionality as a KSL teacher and a transnational woman as part of the local contexts in which the discursive practices occur.

4.5. Summary

This chapter overviewed methodological and analytical frameworks of this dissertation: ethnographic discourse analysis as an overarching approach, CDA, and poststructuralist approach to analysis of discursive representation. Following the previous ethnographic discourse analytic research (Atkinson *et al.*, 2011; Gordon, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2000; Talmy, 2008, 2009), this dissertation triangulates different data of policy documents, media texts, women's interactions, interviews, and on-site documents and employs multiple analytical frameworks to analyze the data including CDA and microanalysis. The triangulation process began with collecting and analyzing the policy discourse, followed by audio-recordings of

interactions among the women in order to examine to what extent the policy discourses are enacted, appropriated, resisted, or challenged by the immigrant women. As it emerged in the women's interactions, I collected media data of the television program 'Love in Asia' to triangulate the representations of marriage immigrant women in different levels of public discourses in Korea. I adopted CDA to analyze policy and media discourses as CDA allowed me to situate my data in relation to larger social contexts and reveal the underlying ideologies and power relations specific to the context of South Korea regarding marriage immigrant women.

Next, I triangulated the critically analyzed discourses of policy and media with the microanalysis daily interactions of the women. My analysis of the interactions incorporated social and institutional contexts found in my analyses of policy and media discourses beyond the immediate context of the interaction. In addition, I took an account of intertextual relations of a given interaction to previous or following interactions as well as personal relationships among the participants by connecting it to other classroom interactions, individual interviews, and group talks of my data. Ethnographic knowledge of the participants that were constructed in individual interviews and group talks was also included in the analysis to better understand how different elements of their identities and interactional contexts shape and are shaped by the women's discursive constructions. Lastly, on-site documents such as textbooks, flyers, and handouts were also analyzed as supplementary data when relevant. The most recurring topics across policy, media, and daily interactions were selected and analyzed throughout the analysis chapters of this dissertation. By doing so, I compared and contrasted the representations of marriage immigrant women in each level of discourse to investigate tendencies and discrepancies among the representations of them.

The following Chapters 5 and 6 will present dominant ideologies surrounding marriage immigrant women through analyzing policy and media discourses. In Chapter 7, I will microanalyze the women's interactions to explore their discursive construction of selves in response to the larger discourses.

CHAPTER 5. POLICY DISCOURSES ON MARRIAGE IMMIGRANT WOMEN

5.0. Introduction

To better understand the social positions of marriage immigrant women in Korea, I first provide underlying ideologies surrounding them by analyzing policy discourses. Revealing the ideologies and worldviews in powerful discourses of policy will shed light on the boundaries of acceptable discourses defined by the nation-state discourses. This chapter analyzes policy discourses posted on the official website of the MOGEF as well as the original text of the Multicultural Families Support Act enforced in December 2015. The texts on the website of the MOGEF were selected as main data since they were not only reconstructed for the general public audience from the original policy texts, but consequently, they also have a stronger impact on the public discourse than the original texts. The website data consist of vision and goal statements, the first and second five-year general plans, and customized support plans for multicultural families. For the website's figures illustrating the policy in Korean, I provide English translation alongside. In addition, the analyses include related Articles in the Multicultural Families Support Act and other laws when relevant especially for the definitions and scopes of related terminology in the policy. The English version of vision and goal statements provided on the website of the MOGEF are also discussed considering their influence as a lingua franca text on immigrants.

The first section analyzes language ideologies reproduced in the policy discourses with regards to multicultural changes in Korea, followed by the analyses of gendered positioning of marriage immigrant women in the policy. In the last section, I discuss the changes in the policy discourse regarding marriage immigrant women and multicultural families by comparing the first and second editions of vision statements and general plans. I conducted textual analysis primarily

in the original language, Korean, considering the possibility of change and loss of meaning when translated (Fairclough; 2005, p. 191).

5.1. Multicultural Families and Social Unity

The first area of interest, the policy for marriage immigrant women are categorized as part of general family planning in the nation-state discourses, not under the category of gender equality. The positions of the women in the policy, therefore, are associated with growing healthy and happy families of Korea rather than promoting the human rights of women. This is also clearly foregrounded in the first Article of the Multicultural Families Support Act¹¹ that states its objective is ‘to contribute to the improvement of multicultural families’ quality of life and their social integration by enabling multicultural family members to lead stable family life’ (revised on December 22, 2015).

제1조(목적) 이 법은 다문화가족 구성원이 안정적인 가족생활을 영위하고 사회구성원으로서의 역할과 책임을 다할 수 있도록 함으로써 이들의 삶의 질 향상과 사회통합에 이바지함을 목적으로 한다.

i pep-un tamwunhwa.kacok kwusengwen-i ancengcek-i-n
this law-TOP multicultural.family member-SUB stable-be-RL.PRE

kacok.saynghwal-ul yengwuyha-ko sahoy.kwusengwen-ulose-uy yekhal-kwa
family.life-OBJ lead-and society.member-as-of role-and

chaykim-ul ta ha-l swu iss-tolok ha-m-ulosse i-tul-uy salm-uy
responsibility-OBJ all do-can-in order to do-NOM-by these-of life-of

cil hyangsang-kwa sahoy.thonghap-ey ipaciha-m-ul
quality improvement-and society.integration-to contribute-NOM-OBJ

mokcek-ulo ha-n.ta
goal-as do-PLN.DC

¹¹ The Korean original is provided as the Appendix 2.

This law intends to contribute to the improvement of multicultural families' quality of life and their social integration by enabling multicultural family members to lead stable family life.

The underlying integrationist language ideology on immigrants in the nation-state discourse is clearly foregrounded as the goal of the law emphasizes their 'social integration' (*sahoy thonghap*). As studies on Korean multicultural families have pointed out (Kim, 2015; Lim, 2010; Lee, 2013), the discourses on 'multiculturalism' and 'globalization' seem to posit the nationalist ideology that is concerned with the national growth of Korea in the era of neo-liberal globalization. With decreasing birth rates and the gender imbalance in the marriage market, especially in rural areas of Korea, foreign women have been sought to resolve the crisis that could negatively affect the national productivity and economic growth. The increasing number of foreigners and multicultural population, however, was viewed as a possible threat to the ideology of pure and homogeneous Korean national identity, which leads to the emphasis on assimilation and integration of immigrants into the Korean society. The Multicultural Families Support Act, in other words, reflects, reproduces, and sustain such nationalist ideology by producing discourses with integrationist language ideology on multiculturalism and immigrants.

5.1.1. Integration of immigrants

The following Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3, extracted from the official website of the MOGEF, are representative of the vision and goal statements for the general family planning under which the multicultural families support policy is categorized. With small changes in the vision and goal statements, both texts illustrate similar underlying integrationist and nationalist ideologies. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 are the Korean versions, and Figure 4 is the original English version that is provided by the MOGET on the website.

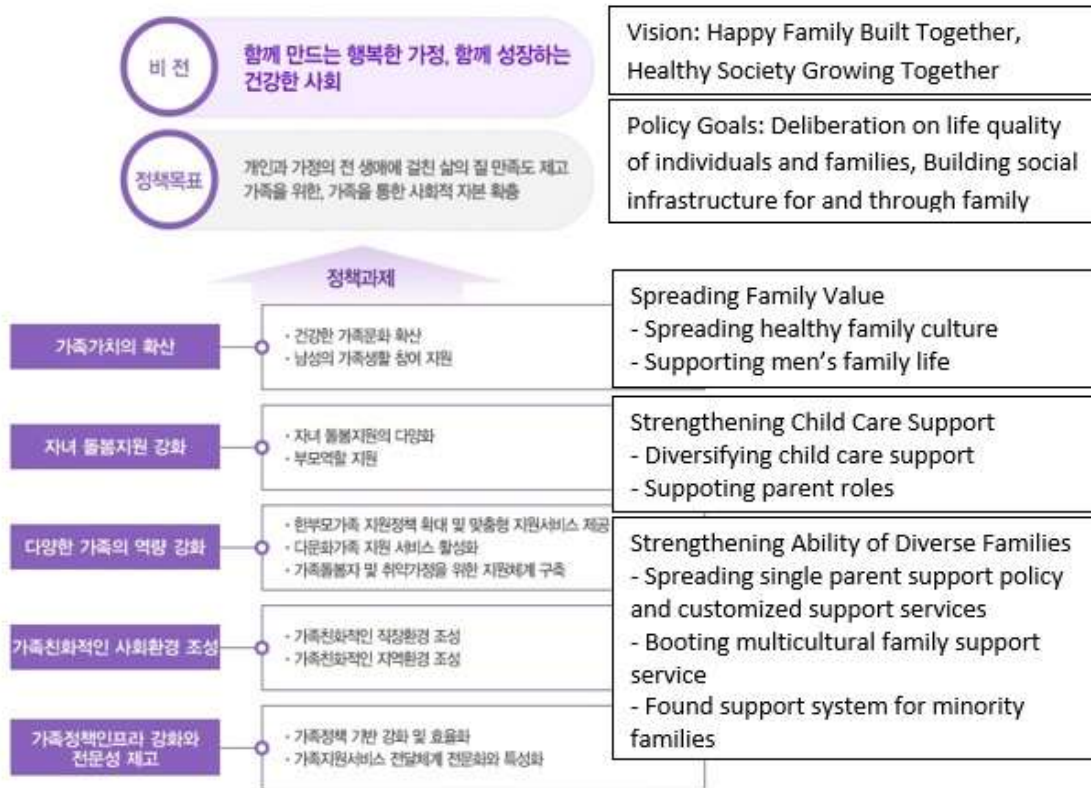
Figure 2. Family Policy Vision Old Version (Korean)



To successfully ‘integrate’ multicultural families, the law considers their ‘stable’ (*ancengcekin*) family life as necessary and in need of governmental support to be achieved. This was laid out more specifically in the first edition of the vision and goal statements (Figure 2) of the family policy. The support for multicultural family policy falls under the category of ‘Strengthening the ability for independence of diverse families’ (*tayanghan kacokui calip yeklyang kanghwa*), which includes ‘lifecycle support for multicultural families,’ ‘support for children under single-parent and grandparent families,’ and ‘foster care for children in need of protection’. The word ‘diverse’ in this categorization is associated with ‘single-parent and grandparent family’ (*han pwumo, coson kacok*), ‘children in need of protection’ (*pohoka philyohan atong*), and the ‘multicultural family’ (*tamwunhwa kacok*), who all lack the capability of being independent members of the society and thus in need of government support. This

categorization remained the same in the goal statements for the updated Multicultural Families Support Act which was enforced in 2015 (Figure 3) with the added category of ‘vulnerable family’ (*chwuiyak kaceng*). The type of families unmarked and unsaid in this categorization, in other words, are families with two parents with economic standing in the middle class or upper class categories. Given the emphasis on social unity in the policy, such ‘diverse’ forms of family are viewed as a possible threat to Korea’s social unity including the multicultural population.

Figure 3. Updated Family Policy Vision (Korean)



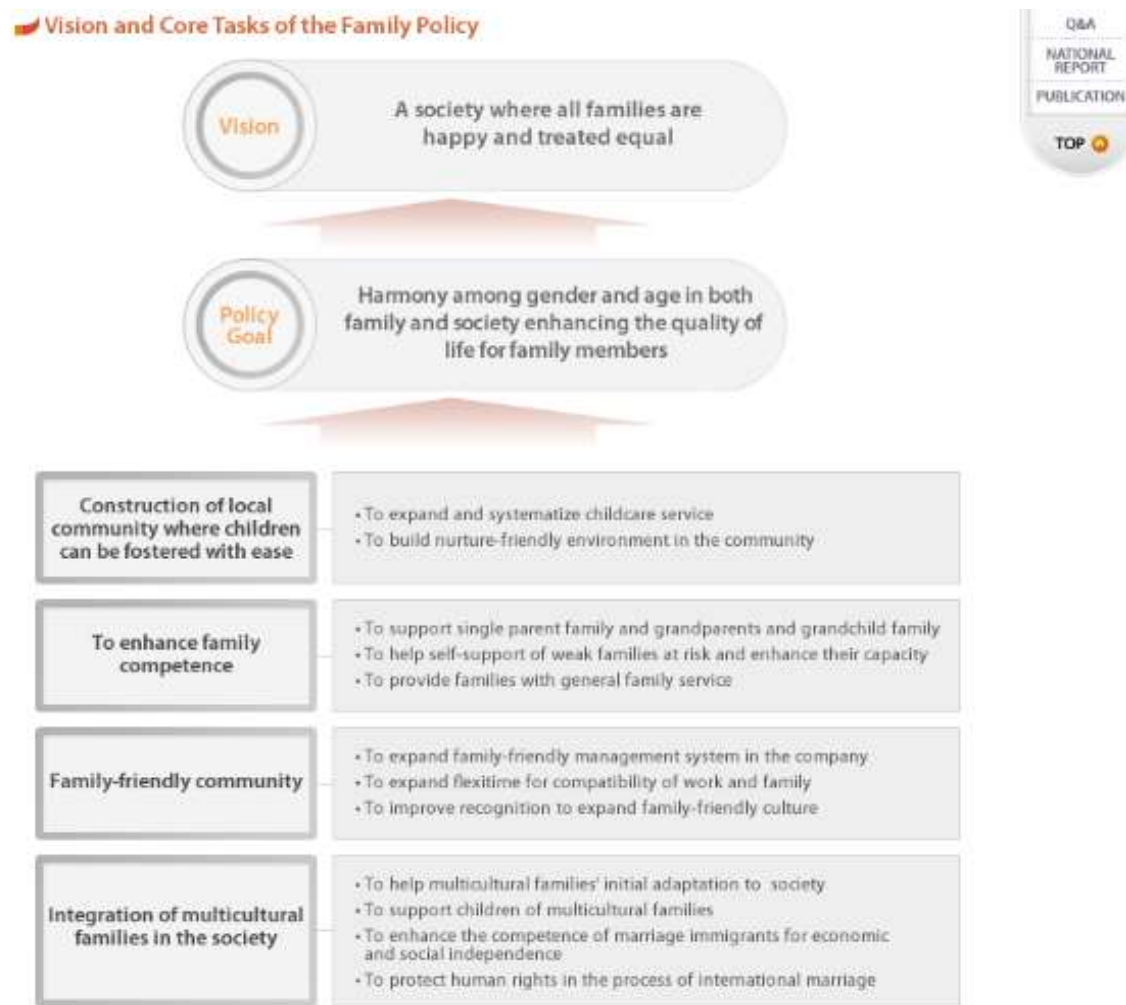
In the original, the Multicultural Families Support Act was written in full sentences. In contrast, the texts presented for the public on the official website of the MOGEF are written in the form of nominalization, which effectively neutralizes the power relations between the gatekeepers and migrants by eliminating the agents in the policy statements. Furthermore, both

the nominalized construction and the original texts position multicultural families as the patients in need of social care or support, while the government is the sole agent. As Weber and Horner (2012) discussed, the passive construction is often used in policy discourses where “the migrants are represented as the patients to undergo the process of integration” (p. 153). Such construction can attribute to the tendency of the policy discourse in which the target populations are positioned as the patients, which neutralizes the power relations between the gatekeeping government and the target population. Other laws regarding the migrants and citizenship of Korea, however, seem to position the migrants as well as the government as the agent depending on the subject matter. For instance, the obligations and responsibilities of the migrants in the Nationality Act are constructed in sentences in which the migrants and transnationals are the agent to fulfill the requirement. In so doing, however, the actual agent who exerts power becomes backgrounded as the policy discourse foregrounds the migrants’ responsibility to acquire the membership of the society. This also resonates with the social contexts in which the government led cross-border marriages as an active agent and reproduces the nationalistic economic agenda. This became more apparent in the updated goal statement: ‘building social capital for family and through family’ (*kacokul wuihan, kacokul thonghan sahoicek capon hwakchwung*). The updated goal statement positions family as a place to nurture social ‘capital’ (*capon*), which also echoes with the neo-liberal ideology of globalization in the discourses on children from multicultural families who are to be educated to become ‘global talent’ (*kullopel incay*) to contribute to the economic growth of Korea in the world (The Multicultural Family Implement Plan 2015, p.15)

The English vision statement (Figure 4) directly translates vision and goal statements from Korean; however, one of the sub-goals exclusively focuses on the ‘integration of

multicultural families to the society’ which includes: 1) to help multicultural families’ initial adaptation to society, 2) to support children of multicultural families, 3) to enhance the competence of marriage immigrants for economic and social independence, and 4) to protect human rights in the process of international marriage.

Figure 4. Original Family Policy Vision (English)



The predominant concept in the multicultural family policy above is ‘integration,’ which is clearly stated in their vision statement as well as in the sub-goals. This integrationist language ideology has also been observed in other similar contexts regarding immigrants, as discussed in

Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) and Weber and Horner (2012). The center-periphery metaphor, which views the immigrants as the only ones who needs to be integrated into the society when integration is the center of the multicultural discourses, is also relevant here. They are considered as the periphery along with other family types that are also seen as minority in Korean society, such as one-parent families, children raised by grandparents, and low-income families. This view is further elaborated in their project for multicultural families, Customized Life Cycle Support Service, which I analyze later in this section.

In terms of vocabulary choices, the goal of the policy states that it is to ‘integrate’ multicultural families into the host Korean society, by ‘helping’ their initial ‘adaptation,’ ‘enhancing competence’ of marriage immigrants’ ‘independence,’ and protecting their human rights. The vocabulary choices resonate with the integrationist worldview that many other immigrant policies have also produced, as pointed out in Weber and Horner (2012). In addition, the marriage immigrants are positioned as semantic patients who are being integrated into Korea by ‘us’ or the government, who are helping and supporting them as the agent; ‘to help multicultural families,’ ‘to support children of multicultural families,’ ‘to enhance the competence of marriage immigrants,’ and ‘to protect human rights.’ Considering the fact that this is translated from the original Korean statements, *nominalization*, or a linguistic phenomenon that non-nouns such as verbs or adjectives are used as nouns with or without morphological change, is also noticeable throughout the text. In the Korean version, each statement is nominalized through by transforming the verb (e.g., *jiwenhada* ‘to support’) to its noun form (e.g., *jiwen* ‘support’), which is translated using ‘to + infinitive’ forms in the English text. This also could be analyzed as nominalization, in that the gerund would hold the same meaning in the given text. ‘Construction’ and ‘integration of’ in the English version are also the

examples of nominalization. As a result of nominalization, the agent disappears from the sentence and the power relations between the agent (the government) and the patient (migrants) become ambiguous, consequently neutralizing the discourse.

An additional important point regarding the production and construction of the policy is that, as pointed out by Weber and Horner (2012), the target immigrant population in this integration policy has been limited to marriage immigrants who are socioeconomically marginalized with less capital and ignores the immigrants with higher socioeconomic status and more capital, hence it is the first group that is in need of integration into the major society to sustain the social unity. From the perspective of CDA, this is also *omission*, since the middle-class multicultural families (e.g., American men and Korean women, Korean men and Chinese women with higher amount of capital) are excluded in this policy discourse. Also, from transnational perspective on today's migration and multiculturalism, marriage immigrant women can be seen as a representative of transnationals, whose linguistic and cultural resources interact with others in dynamic ways enriching the multicultural society; however, in the integrationist world-view, they are reduced to the periphery that needs to be adapted and merged into the host society.

The same worldviews are also apparent in the Life Cycle Support Plan (Table 3) that is customized for each step of the multicultural families' life cycle from the pre-migration stage (www.mogef.go.kr/korea/view/policyGuide/policyGuide). The plan divides multicultural families' lives into four stages in terms of how they are situated as marriage immigrants and what their required social roles are in Korea. Since there is only a Korean version available for this text, I translated it into English as close to the literal meaning as possible. The English translated version is shown in Table 3. The full Korean version is provided in Appendix 3.

Table 3. Translated Life Cycle Support Plan (Updated)

Stage 1: Marriage Preparation Prior to Entering Korea
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Human Right Protection in International Marriage Process and Education Program <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement of regulating laws on international marriage agencies Implement of International Marriage Broker License ('08) Enactment of the standardized agreement on marriage broker business, Reinforcing the brokers to provide their background information ('10~), Banning group arrangement and arranging minors, introducing requirements of the capital (over \$100K) for launching international marriage agencies - Implement of educational programs on ethical awareness and professional knowledge of marriage brokers Educating on marriage broker system, human right protection, consumer protection, consult training, etc. - Sustainable management of home country pre-migration education for (planning) marriage immigrants Providing information prior to entering Korea by utilizing standardized materials (Korean culture, Korean language, etc.) on-site in Vietnam, Mongolia, Philippines, etc. (5 centers in 3 countries)
Stage 2: Initial Stage - Building Family Relationship
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Support for the initial adaptation and stable life of marriage immigrants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Providing general service including Korean language education, multicultural family integration program, multicultural family employment support, individual and family consult, etc. - Providing information in Korean life through multilingual life-policy information magazine (Rainbow+, quarterly), Korean life guidebook, portal website for supporting multicultural families 'danuri,' etc. 2. Korean language education through diverse media <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement of Korean language education at Multicultural Family Support Centers in 229 districts nation-wide <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Regular Curricular (Levels 1 to 4), classes for immigrated children of multicultural families, special classes (i.e. intensive course) - Visiting Korean language education by the Multicultural Family Support Centers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ In 2013, 1,453 Korean language educators supported 9,841 multicultural family members 3. Implement of crisis intervention and family integration education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Running shelters and hotline 'danuri call center' 1577-1366 for the protection and consultation of victims of domestic violence - Providing life information and consulting for concerns from multicultural families' adaptation process since June 2011 + Consulting and reception services for diverse Korean life information and violence for

-
- multicultural families and immigrant women
 - *Danuri Call Center* (1577-1366) supporting 24 hours, 365 days in 13 languages, Running 24 Immigrant Women Shelters
 - Consulting for individuals and families of multicultural families (including divorced families)
 - Promoting family integration education to improve the understanding of family culture and familial roles among multicultural family members
-

Stage 3: Raising Children and Settling Down

1. Support for raising and educating children from multicultural families

- Implementing parenting education service for improvement of the parents' ability to raise children
 - Implementing support service for multicultural families experiencing difficulty with educational achievement and development of the self, affective, sociability
 - Language development support for children from multicultural families
 - Providing language development, education programs (Approximately 300 language development educators)
 - + Providing dispatch service to day care facilities and opening multicultural language classes in the centers
 - Providing bilingual family environment construction business
 - Implementing 'Multicultural Family Bilingual Family Construction Business' to support the children of multicultural families to marriage immigrant parent's language in natural settings along with Korean
-

Stage 4: Strengthening competence

1. Support for economic and social independence of multicultural families

- Implementing multicultural family employment networking and education for basic knowledge for employment
 - Implementing vocational training and developing expert jobs suitable for marriage immigrants
 - + Developing expert jobs suitable for marriage immigrants such as interpreter/translator, medical treatment coordinator
 - + Providing internship opportunities to adapt to workplaces and vocational training with consideration of marriage immigrant women's traits/preference and demand for labor force
 - Supporting the operation of self-help meetings and volunteering groups
 - + Supporting the operation of country-based self-help meetings and 'sharing volunteer group' with general families
-

All States: Strengthening Multicultural Competence

1. National Awareness Raising and Promotion

- Running multicultural family monitoring group
- Supporting the operation of the multicultural family support portal site '*danuri*'
- Developing and distributing contents to raise awareness of multiculturalism

2. Implement of Field Research in Multicultural Families (The Multicultural Families Support Act Article 4)

-
- Developing customized service and establishing the foundational statistical data necessary for policy-making by collecting and analyzing nation-wide field research data on multicultural families
 - Research criteria (The Multicultural Families Support Act Article 2 Clause 3)
 - + General traits of family members including gender, age, education, employment, etc.
 - + Economic conditions of families including income, expense, asset, etc.
 - + Forms and relations of family including raising children, supporting family, etc.
 - + Family problems such as family conflict
 - + Demands for services such as education, consult for multicultural family support
 - + Other facts necessary to learn conditions and reality of multicultural families
-

As illustrated, the support plan for the initial stage primarily focuses on the legal regulations on the international marriage agencies and training programs for the women before their migration. The plan reflects human right violations many women underwent in the past and societal attention to the issue and implements laws to regulate the international marriage brokers in order to protect the immigrant women. It also reinforces the integrationist ideology in educating future marriage immigrants on the Korean language and culture in their preparation prior to the migration while they are still in their home country. According to Kim and Lee (2012), there have been efforts from Korea and the countries from which many women migrate in order to cooperate in building cultural centers and operate Korean adaptation programs. What is noticeable is while marriage immigrants' preparation has been emphasized both by the sending and receiving countries, there is little attention to educating Korea spouses on cultural and linguistic knowledge of their immigrant spouses.

This underpinning rationale of integrationism continues in the following second stage of support, which is offered once the women are in Korea. This Initial Stage of Building Family Relationship, the focus is mainly on support and education for the 'adaptation of marriage immigrants' through Korean language programs. In addition, 'Multicultural Family Integration Education', which is provided by the Multicultural Family Support Centers, Korean life

guidebooks, and other materials. In terms of language use, the vocabulary chosen include terms such as ‘initial adaptation of marriage immigrants’ (*kyelhon iminca-uy coki cekung*) and ‘family integration education’ (*kacok thonghap kyoywuk*), which are closely related to ideologies that assume integration via assimilation of immigrants. Another similarity that runs throughout the policy texts is the semantic positioning of the immigrants as the grammatical patients and the Korean government as the agent. In Korean, omission (e.g., subjects, objects, or particles) is a common practice when it is understandable by the context (Sohn, 1999). The omitted subject in these texts is the pronoun ‘we,’ the Korean government, or Korean social workers in all sentences. Meanwhile, the immigrants are positioned as omitted indirect objects and are the very people the services are provided to by the Korean government.

In addition, it is the only stage in which the text uses the category immigrant ‘women’ (*icwu yeseng*) distinct from ‘multicultural family’ (*tamwunhwa kacok*) or ‘marriage immigrant’ (*kyelhon iminca*). Along with services to assist against domestic violence is ‘family integration education’ to improve understandings of ‘familial roles’ (*kacok nay yekhal*) and ‘family culture’ (*kacok mwunhwa*) as a crisis for multicultural families. This is also reported in Seong and Han (2011) whose interview study discussed that expected familial roles of wives and daughters-in-law, which are one of the most challenging issues many marriage immigrant women undergo. Commonly discussed gender roles to cause the struggle include heavy loads of house chores for holidays and ancestral ceremonies in husband’s family, cooking and eating Korean food for every meal, and unconditional obedience to parents-in-law. Many Korean women also experience such intense gendered expectations of daughters-in-law (Lee, 2010; Lee, 2013); however, migrant daughters-in-law also encounter cultural differences and in-laws’ lack of intercultural understanding, which can amplify their hardship. Instead of embracing different

ways of living, the emphasis is on ‘Koreanizing’ the foreign daughters-in-law by teaching them to become like ideologically ideal Korean daughters-in-law, which even Korean women may refuse to perform. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 1, many of the international marriages arranged by agencies involve monetary compensation and remittance paid by the groom’s family, which marginalizes the women’s positions in the family as ‘bought’ and thus ‘to serve’ their purpose to take care of the husband’s family. The women’s positions, therefore, may be more marginalized than other married women in Korea whose marriages were coincidental events.

It is noteworthy that the policy emphasizes ‘integration’ through education for the “Korean” familial roles and family culture as a solution to their struggle. Immigrants are positioned as novice members to be educated on the ideologies of a Korean family’s culture and the expected familial roles for the wife, husband, parents, in-laws, while presuming the determined and fixed identities for each positionality. This is a euphemism in that the actual contents of ‘the family integration education’ mean that the immigrants ought to learn Korean language and culture and contribute to the ‘harmony’ (*cohwa*) of their spouses’ family. Family integration, in other words, is monocultural education rather than intercultural education for both in-law family members and immigrants on how to live with differences; only the immigrants are positioned as responsible for threatening the ideological ‘happy family’ due to lack of their knowledge in Korean family culture. Despite the constant emphasis on integration of immigrants via assimilation, however, immigrants continue to experience struggle rather than feeling included and integrated into Korean society (Seong and Han, 2011). There is, therefore, a great deal of possibility for improvement in the policy discourse to shift its direction to advocating intercultural awareness and promoting pluralism wherein not only the wife but also the husband

and his families learn to live with diversity in the family rather than simply expecting one-way acculturation from the wife.

The next stage, Raising Children and Settling Down, primarily emphasizes on the supporting of their children's education and educating the parents to improve their parenting abilities. In the first edition prior to 2015, this stage focused on information for health insurance and complementary examinations for pregnant women, vaccinations needed for infants, common food Korean women eat after birth, and the Korean public education system. In the updated version (2015), the main focus shifted towards the children's school performances and Korean language abilities. Considering that the Multicultural Families Support Act was initially enforced in 2008, a number of children from multicultural families are in the national education system as of 2015, calling for multilingual education policies in the nation-state. The early phase of the policy focused on childbirth and nurturing, as the majority of immigrant women were newcomers while the most recent policy discourse faces the issue of integrating their children to the public education system and eventually to the society. As stated in the goals for the law, the primary concern of the nation-state discourse on immigrants and multicultural families lies on succeeding "Korean families" rather than improving human rights of women. The shift in the policy discourse reflects such social change and reconfirms the national agenda.

In addition, while the earlier stages encourage 'marriage immigrants' to learn Korean culture and language for the early adaptation and raising children as capable parents, the last stage is designed to support their career training and to create occupations suitable for marriage migrants. The primary societal roles of marriage immigrants, therefore, are to build families and raise children, contributing to the reproduction of members of Korean society and the national growth. Afterwards, they are also expected to become economically capable and independent

and to contribute to the economy of the family and the nation, which is realized as a sub-goal of supporting marriage immigrants' employment in the 2015 Multicultural Family Plan¹² (p.10): 'contribution to the unity of local communities and early adaptation in local societies' (*ciyekisahoy cokicengchak mich ciyekisahoy thonghapey kiye*). At the same time, the plan puts more emphasis on the financial responsibilities of the Korean spouse including the minimum income to be qualified to invite a foreign spouse, which I will further discuss in the next section. The discourse on the economic ability of multicultural families here reflects and reproduces their marginalized socioeconomic status. The Korean spouse, likely to be the husband, is positioned as possibly incapable of financially supporting his family, and his marginalized economic status likely demands his wife to bring income to the family. The women's primary role is constructed as giving birth and nurturing children, and once those duties are accomplished, the emphasis shifts to their economic contribution to the family. Listed under the category of 'vulnerable families' (*chwuyyak kaceng*), multicultural families are positioned as in need of the government's assistance, a potential threat to the stability and unity of the Korean society.

It is important to question whether the integrationist ideology is taken up by marriage immigrant women themselves. According to a survey conducted by Kim and Lee (2012), these ideologies are also held by many immigrant wives. The two dominant needs the participants in the survey chose were the support for their children's education and support for their Korean language development. This seems to be an attribute of the fundamental nature of their migration, the sole purpose of which is to marry a Korean man and raise children in the Korean family. In spite of their willingness to learn the Korean language and culture to be integrated, there have been reported cases of problems caused by the pressure of 'acculturation' on the

¹² The original Korean is provided as an Appendix 4.

women (Choi, Miller, & Wilbur, 2009). The study reported how the women experience depression as a result of the high demand on acculturation and adaptation in Korea. Accordingly, these negative consequences of integration-focused policy raised awareness to the need to revise and modify the policy directions and change in discourse, which is discussed later in this chapter. The following chapters will further examine how these ideologies on immigrants interact with women's lives and explore their individual experiences through a diverse set of data including media discourse, women's interactions, interviews, and on-site documents.

5.1.2. One nation—one language vs. pluralist worldviews

In terms of language planning, the one nation—one language ideology is prominent in the integrationist ideology on immigrants, which also applies in the case of Korea. In this section, I analyze the Life Cycle Support Plan and its emphasis on Korean language education in early stage of the women's migration along with a newly implemented law that requires the beginning level of Korean language proficiency as a qualification to marry Korean citizens. I also discuss the seemingly pluralist perspective on bilingualism and multilingualism in the policy and social orders that call for such perspective. These sections were selected for different reasons. I chose the Life Cycle Support Plan for its close relationship to and influence on the on-site educational and support programs provided for the women at local Multicultural Families Support Centers with an emphasis on KSL education. The newly enforced law on Korean language proficiency requirement is chosen for its emphasis on the role of language in integration.

First, one of the core projects of the Life Cycle Support Plan is the Korean Language Program, which is provided at the local Multicultural Family Support Centers and run by the MOGEF. The Life Cycle Support Plan is designed to 'support' and 'help' marriage immigrants to acquire ability in the Korean language, capacity to raise children and to properly support their

school performances, competence to find a job, and so forth, which are considered as needed for the successful adaptation from the integration perspective (Weber and Horner, 2012). The Korean language is given a great deal of importance in many domains of marriage immigrants' lives including family, which is the most relevant domain in the immediate migration, and career development for their successful adaptation to the Korean society. In spite of the immediate relevance of the domain of family in marriage immigrants' lives in Korea, there is no attention in the policy to their L1s in this domain. The family domain constructs marriage immigrants' positions as a caregiver for in-law family members, a wife, and a mother in an ideological Korean family in which their L1 is excluded. Interestingly, their L1s are considered as a resource for them to utilize in career search, which is highly limited to professions such as an interpreter, a translator, or medical treatment coordinator for other immigrants. This indexical order of Korean and immigrants' L1 sheds light on the underpinning ideologies of integration in the policy, in that attaining a membership of the Korean society holds prestige, which is the rationale for the strong emphasis on Korean language learning.

The emphasis on Korean language learning has recently been strengthened in the law as the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) announced qualifications of Korean proficiency for spouse visa issuance as the Immigration Control Law Enforcement Regulation Article 9-5 Clause 1 Number 6¹³ (www.moj.go.kr) in 2014. According to the new law, 'as a standard to judge the possibility of communication between husband and wife, marriage immigrants must have the beginning level of Korean language proficiency to receive the marriage immigrant visa'. To prove the proficiency, they 'must earn the Level 1 in the TOPIK' or 'complete the beginning level Korean course provided by educational institutions approved by the Minister of Justice'. There are three

¹³ The full text of the law is provided as an appendix 5.

cases that can be exempted from this: 1) ‘if marriage immigrants hold a degree related to the Korean language, are Korean diaspora with a foreign citizenship, or have resided in Korea longer than one year,’ 2) ‘if the couple are judged to be able to communicate in another language,’ and 3) ‘if there is a child born to the couple for a humanitarian cause’. The samples of the second exemption case include ‘if the Korean spouse has resided in the marriage immigrant’s country more than one year’ or ‘if there is a language both have a command of besides Korean,’ which a consul can conduct extra evaluations to determine the command of the language.

Unlike other policy texts regarding the marriage immigrants, immigrants in this text are the subjects of the sentence in the Clause; they must complete the language program and earn the proficiency level. Of particular interest, however, is that the subject is followed by the modal auxiliary verb for obligation, ‘must’ (*-e/a-ya ha-*), and the obligation is implemented by the Korean government and imposed upon the immigrants. The syntactic structure of the sentence that positions the immigrants as the subject, therefore, hides the power relation between the immigrants and the government. In the exemption cases, the syntactic structures resonate with the other policy texts in which the government is the subject and the agent of the sentence and the immigrants the indirect object and the patient. Furthermore, the second and third exemption cases are constructed in the passive voice: ‘is exempted’ (*myenceytoynta*). According to Fairclough (1989), “*agentless passives* leave causality and agency unclear [emphasis in original]” (p. 125) and can ideologically obfuscate agency about who can exert and impose power upon others. Agency of the Korean government is backgrounded by realizing the agent as the inanimate ‘qualification’ (*yoken*) and deleting the actual agent through a passive sentence. For instance, the same sentence can be realized in an active sentence as ‘The Ministry of Justice exempts the marriage immigrants from the Korean language requirement if they are judged to be

able to communicate with their spouse in another language or if they have children.’ Besides the cases in which there is a lingua franca between the two people, which excludes the majority of marriages whose relationships started by chance, the immigrant spouse is obliged to speak Korean but their Korean spouse are not required to learn their immigrant spouse’s language. The law amplifies the worldview that positions immigrants as in need to be assimilated and integrated to the host society, the official language of which is Korean; therefore, it reflects, reinforces, and reproduces the one-nation one-language ideology.

On the other hand, the policy also pays more attention to multiculturalism in the updated general and annual plans. In the Multicultural Families Support Act Article 5, it states the government ‘must take measures including prevention of societal discrimination and prejudice against multicultural families, implement of education programs to raise multicultural understanding of community members to accept and respect cultural diversity, promotion videos, etc.’ This is further elaborated in the 2015 Multicultural Family Plan (p. 11) in four sub-categories of: 1) building social culture to accept diverse ethnicities and cultures, 2) implementing multicultural understanding education for different subjects, 3) enhancing multicultural understanding in school, and 4) establishing military environment for multicultural family members’ joining the army. The most frequently used vocabulary in these texts includes ‘multicultural(ism)’ (*tamwunhwa*), ‘culture’ (*mwunhwa*) which is often associated with ‘diversity’ (*tayangseong*), ‘education’ (*kyoywuk*) and ‘understanding’ (*ihay*) which are also frequently used together. Words such as ‘acknowledgment’ (*inceng*) or ‘acceptance’ (*swuyong*) are often used with ‘diversity.’ The first sub-category is designed to build a social culture to accept ethnic and cultural diversities and thus targets the nation-wide audiences focusing primarily on the media discourses. In other sub-categories, on the other hand, the multicultural

education targets mostly government workers and educators as awareness raising measures instead of as part of public education curricular and material. In addition, the education programs mainly are designed for those whose jobs relate to children of multicultural families rather than marriage immigrants, resonating with the nationalist interest in raising Korean children.

In discussing diversity, however, multilingualism or bilingualism are completely excluded in the text. Rather, they are emphasized in the section where the policy discusses supporting children from multicultural families to raise them as ‘global talent’ (*kullopel incay*) in the 2015 General Plan. In the original plan, the bilingual programs to teach marriage immigrants’ L1 to their children were to be offered at the Multicultural Family Support Centers, however with significantly less emphasis and currency than KSL classes that are provided at public schools and are mandatory for the children from multicultural families. In the 2015 Multicultural Family Plan (p.15), the annual evaluation lists ‘expanding supports for multicultural family children to promote their healthy growth, and building foundations to raise (*ywukseng*) multicultural family children as global talents (*kullopel incay*)’ as one of the accomplishments of 2014. The evaluation elaborates on the achievement ‘model implementation of bilingual family environment building business and support for the manifestation of multicultural students (e.g., bilingual education by utilizing multicultural instructors, Global Bridge Project, etc.),’ which carries the national interest in taking a leading role in today’s neo-liberal and globalized world.

For instance, the text on the bilingual education for children from multicultural families, words such as ‘raising global talents’ (*kullopel incay yangseng*), ‘talent to increase the productivity of Korea’ (*tayhanminkwukui kyengcaynglyekul nophinun incaysang*), ‘nurturing future talents’ (*milayincay ywukseng*), ‘constructing multicultural talent pool’ (*tamwunhwa incayphwul kwuchwuk*) are widely used in stating the direction and purpose of supporting

bilingual education for the children. While the policy applies the one-nation one-language more strictly to marriage immigrants by implementing a new law that requires Korean language proficiency for the issuance of the marriage immigrant visa, it emphasizes ‘building bilingual family environment’ (*icwungene kacok hwankyeng coseng*) for their children for their value as ‘global talents’ of Korea. In other words, reproducing the neo-liberal nationalism by putting an emphasis on bilingualism and human capital, bilingualism is valued as an asset for nurturing future global leaders, indicating the pluralist perspective that values multilingualism but only for the country’s benefit. In offering the immigrant parent’s L1 education for their children, the government recognizes the diverse linguistic and cultural capital the immigrants bring to Korea and future bilingual human capital to perform as representatives of Korea in the globalized economic market, rather than focusing on the linguistic rights of the immigrants.

5.2. Gendered Ideologies on Marriage Immigrant Women

As researchers have recently pointed out (Kim, 2007, Lee, 2012; Lee, 2015; Lim, 2010), recent policy discourses actively support patriarchally Korean-descended families, with a Korean husband and a foreign wife, but stigmatize or omit matriarchally Korean-descended families, with a Korean wife and a foreign husband. In other words, children born from a Korean father are considered as Korean while children from a foreign father are considered as non-Korean. This is also shown in the history of ‘multiculturalism’ (*tamwunhwa*) in Korea. The Korean government’s nation-state promotion and support for cross-border marriages between foreign women and Korean men initiated cross-border marriages between Korean men and ethnic Korean women in China in the 1990s to resolve the low birth rate problems in rural areas. The term ‘multicultural(ism)’ (*tamwunhwa*) also started to be widely used in societal discourses after

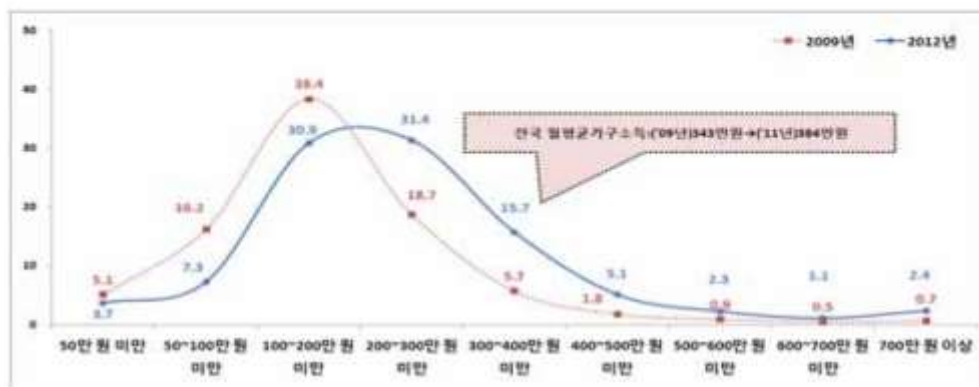
cross-border marriages between Korean men and foreign women, which initially began with women of Korean ancestry, started to increase in numbers. On the other hand, cross-border marriages between Korean women and foreign men, which always existed after the Korean War, were neither recognized in nation-state discourses nor supported by the government (Lim, 2010).

5.2.1. Omission of gender

Considering the historically and socially patriarchy-influenced contexts of discourses on multiculturalism in Korea, it can be said that the policy is omitting gender in its discourse along with social class (e.g., income, education, asset, etc.) in spite of the primary focus of the multicultural family support plans for on low-income marriage immigrant women. An annual report of the statistics of multicultural families in the 2015 Multicultural Family Plan (p. 18), however, reveals the gender and social class with which the policy is concerned.

□ (다문화가족의 특성) 저소득·고령의 남성 배우자가 다수로 가구소득이 일반 가구에 비해 전반적으로 낮은 편

* '09년에 비해 '12년 월평균 가구소득은 다소 개선되었으나 200만원 이하 41.9%



- (Traits of Multicultural Family) Overall tendency of lower household income than general family, with majority of low-income and old male spouses
 - * 2012 Average monthly household income has slightly improved compared to 2009, but 41.9% lower than 2,000,000 won

The report discusses the average household income for a multicultural family based on the traits of ‘male spouse’ (*namseng paywuca*), by and large with ‘low income, older’ (*cesotuk, kolyeng*). As it considers husbands’ economic capital in determining the socioeconomic class of families, the text illustrates the viewpoint that positions men as the bread winners of the family, which applies to multicultural families as well. Considering the primary role of marriage immigrants (*kyelhon iminca*) to raise and educate the children at the early stages of their settlement, the ‘marriage immigrants’ in the policy mainly refers to wives, who are the care givers of the family rather than bread winners. Hence, most parts of the policy texts omit the gender in its discourse despite of its primary concern on those ‘multicultural families’ (*tamwunhwa kacok*) with Korean men and foreign women. Furthermore, the following section of the 2015 Multicultural Family Plan (p.19) unusually marks gender in discussing marriage immigrants’ employment and economic competence.

□ (결혼이민자의 취업욕구 증가) 결혼이민자(29만) 등의 국내 체류기간이 장기화 (72.5%가 5년 이상 거주)됨에 따라 생애주기별 지원 강화 필요

○ 결혼이민자와 귀화자가 원하는 서비스*는 일자리 교육 및 연계, 자녀 생활 및 학습지원,

한국어 교육 順으로 한국생활 초기적응 후에는 취업의 욕구가 가장 큰 비중을 차지

* 일자리 교육 및 연계가 3.56점, 자녀생활 및 학습지원이 3.23점, 가정방문교육 3.06점, 한국어 교육이 2.99점(5점 만족, '12년 전국다문화가족실태조사)

○ 결혼이민자·귀화자 등 중 취업자는 58.5%, 미취업자는 41.5%이나 단순노무직 (29.9%), 일용직(18.9%)등 질낮은 일자리에 집중

— 대부분 자립역량이 낮은 저학력·저소득 여성

• 여성 결혼이민자의 23.5%가 중졸 이하, 45.6%가 고졸 학력

- (Increase of marriage immigrants’ employment desire) Need to strengthening the life cycle support according to the prolonged length of residence (72.5% residing over 5 years) of marriage immigrants (290,000) and so forth
 - Employment desire occupying the biggest ratio after the initial adaptation to Korean life among the services marriage immigrants and naturalized want: employment training and link, support for children’s life and education, Korean education in order

- Among marriage immigrants and naturalized, 58.5% are employed and 41.5% are unemployed, yet concentrated in low-quality jobs including simple labor (29.9%), day labor (18.9%), etc.
 - Mostly low-educated, low-income women with low capacity of self-reliance
 - * 23.5% of female marriage immigrants less than middle school graduates, 45.6% high school graduates

The surveys and the updated support plan emphasize the marriage immigrants' needs for employment under which the text explicitly states 'women' (*yeseng*), many of whom are 'mostly low-educated, low-income women with low capacity of self-reliance' (*taypwupwun calipyeklyangi nacun cehaklyek, cesoduk yeseng*). This also emerged multiple times in the classroom interaction data when Hyemin encouraged learners to earn the proficiency level of the TOPIK or a college degree, if possible, so that they can find a professional and stable job as the job market for marriage immigrant women seems to require more qualifications including the college degree in the areas where it used to be more manageable without educational background. Five participants (Elena, Youngbee, Jimin, Eunhee, Sophie) in my data worked as multicultural instructors at local public schools after taking vocational training program and being linked by the Multicultural Family Support Center, which were part-time and had an irregular work schedule. Two participants (Jimin, Sohee) started working for famous pyramid cosmetic companies in 2015, and Marina from Uzbekistan worked temporarily at a local restaurant or stores, but she did it to save money to visit her home town not to make a living. College graduates whose L1 is considered as valuable linguistic capital (Japanese for Asako, Mayumi, Maiko; Russian for Elena) held relatively stable jobs as language instructors at schools or private companies regardless of their educational or professional backgrounds. On the other hand, although Jimin earned a college degree in early childhood education in Vietnam and wanted to work as a kindergarten teacher in Korea (Classroom recording on July 22, 2014), she struggled to find a teaching job.

The binary worldview to separate immigrants from ‘general’ (*ilpan*) families is also foregrounded in the text. 11% of multicultural families are reported to earn less than one million won, 41.9% below two million won, and 73.3% below three million, and the top 10.9% make over four million won. What should be taken into account here is the general statistics of household income in Korea to determine whether the marginalization is as apparent in reality as it is discursively constructed in the policy. According to the KOSIS, 22% of the entire households in Korea had monthly income below one million won, 45.6% below two million won, 67.6% below three million, and 16.4% made more than four million won in the same year of 2012. Considering the similarity between ‘multicultural families’ and ‘general’ families in the ratio of lower income, therefore, the policy constructs discourse that may create and sustain the marginalizing view on multicultural families. It is possible that multicultural families with higher income may consist of Korean women and foreign men, the majority of whom have nationalities of economically developed western countries as seen in the introduction chapter, while multicultural families with foreign women fall into the ‘low-income’ families as presented in the policy texts. This resonates with Weber and Hornburger’s (2012) argument that integrationist ideology holds asymmetrical worldviews on immigrants, since it only considers marginalized immigrants as possible threats to the social unity and omits immigrants with high levels of capital. It can be argued that the multicultural policy is gendered in coordination with the integrationist ideology in that marriage immigrant women with limited economic, social, and symbolic capitals are the primary concern of the policy to integrate into the host society. This is despite the existence of multicultural families with non-Korean husbands or with high income and educational backgrounds, who are omitted in the policy discourse.

The omission of gender in the policy texts and the contrasting gendered discourse on marriage immigrants is also found in the Multicultural Families Support Act Article 9 ‘Support for medical treatment and health management’:

제 9 조(의료 및 건강관리를 위한 지원) ① 국가와 지방자치단체는 결혼이민자등이 건강하게 생활할 수 있도록 영양·건강에 대한 교육, 산전·산후 도우미 파견, 건강검진 등의 의료서비스를 지원할 수 있다. <개정 2011.4.4.>

② 국가와 지방자치단체는 결혼이민자등이 제 1 항에 따른 의료서비스를 제공받을 경우 외국어 통역 서비스를 제공할 수 있다.<신설 2011.4.4.>

Article 9 (Support for medical treatment and health management) ① Central and local governments can support medical treatment service including nutrition, health education, dispatching a helper for before and after childbirth, medical examination, etc. for marriage immigrants to live a healthy life. <Amendment 2011.4.4>

② Central and local governments can provide foreign language translation service in case marriage immigrants receive medical treatments related to Clause 1. <Establishment 2011.4.4>

The list of governmental support for marriage immigrants’ medical service include nutrition, health education, dispatching a helper for before and after childbirth, and medical examination. Without explicitly marking the gender of marriage immigrants the article is primarily concerned with women, the content of the medical service reveals national emphasis on marriage immigrants’ health in relation to childbirth. In the original Life Cycle Support Plan prior to the update, the Stage 3 ‘Raising Children and Settling’ also listed detailed contents of education for marriage immigrants to become parents, which also focused on pregnancy and childbirth. Nurturing and parenting education for ‘marriage immigrants’ started from assisting pregnant marriage immigrants by informing them on what to do and what not to do during pregnancy, lists of vaccinations needed for infants, and continued to explaining the Korean public education system. In spite of the omitted gender of marriage immigrants in the policy, therefore, it is marriage immigrant women who are the primary concern of the government

support and education. In the updated support plan text, marriage immigrants are positioned as having a need to ‘improve parenting abilities’ (*pwumouy canye yangywuk nunglyek hyangsangul wuyhay*), and the focus of the policy has shifted to their children rather than the immigrants themselves.

Considering the familial roles as mothers and wives to sustain the patriarchal family lines of Korean that is imposed on and expected of the marriage immigrant women, the government invests in multicultural families and values of marriage immigrant women as care givers of ‘Korean’ families. In this regard, marriage immigrant women’s diverse backgrounds and cultural capital have been eliminated in the discourse and replaced with a unified Confucian values of women (Kim, 2012). This limited positionality allowed for marriage immigrants in the policy discourse is also reconfirmed by the policy regarding divorce; while women with children are legally supported to stay in Korea after divorce, women without children hardly can expect such support or right from the government (Kim, 2015). To this end, Kim (2012) argued the positionality of marriage immigrants is explicitly “coded in the legal structure. A right to stay is conditioned upon their commitment to marriage and citizenship is only granted to those who have stayed in a marriage for a minimum of two years or those who have given birth to Korean children. The law reveals the expected role the marriage migrants are to play in Korea: to stay in a marriage with a Korean or to bear Korean citizens” in analyzing the Nationality Law (p. 14).

To fully understand the policy discourses on marriage immigrant women and the detailed Life Cycle Support Plan that realizes the vision and goals, it is also important to recognize who created the discourses and how it was distributed and consumed. Blommaert (2005) pointed out that “the systematically reproduced indexicalities are often tied to specific, authoritative actors which we call *centering institutions* (Silverstein 1998:404), and which are

often also ‘central’ institutions imposing the ‘doxa’ in a particular group (i.e. the stratification of value in the indexical system).” As a result, this “generates indexicalities to which others have to orient in order to be ‘social’” and “center on the potential to articulate (hierarchically ordered) ‘central values’ of a group or system (the ‘good’ group member, the ‘ideal’ father/mother/child, ‘God,’ ‘the country/nation,’ the ‘law,’ the ‘economy,’ the ‘good’ student, the ‘ideal’ intellectual, the ‘real man/woman’...)” (p. 75). The current policy text also imposes certain values on immigrant women to be an independent member of Korean society, a competent mother, a good daughter-in-law and wife who learns the culture and language of their Korean in-law family.

Another important aspect of marriage immigrant women’s reality that the policy fails to represent is that many of them have to or are expected by the in-law families to work and bring income into the family, since the women that are considered in the policy are often married to men in the socioeconomically marginalized position. Kim and Lee (2012) pointed out this discrepancy between the policy and the reality, along with other limitations of the plan which is concerned about the need for long-term Korean education for the women. They discussed the women often start working at a place where the majority of the employees are also migrants who are hired to do simple labor without much verbal interactions such as factories, and their language learning tends to stop as they start to be able to communicate in Korean. In addition, the emphasis on Korean language learning is great at the beginning stages. In contrast, there is no policy to promote higher level of proficiency for long-time residents. In reality, since their children are in public education system in later stages of the Life Cycle defined in the policy, women consider the need for Korean language proficiency even more important. In sum, the central value of the society is clearly manifested as the immigrant women’s parenting skills are required to suit the Korean ideology of parenting and mothering, to become an ideal mother and

wife of Korea. This vision of a ‘super woman,’ however, is challenging for many Korean women as well, especially when they work outside home like many marriage immigrant women do. There is, in contrast, merely any statement that emphasizes educating the Korean in-law family members or Korean community members about the parenting custom of the immigrant women. This, once again, shows the Korean government’s integrationist and patriarchal worldviews on multiculturalism and marriage immigrant women living in Korea.

5.2.2. Foregrounding gender in human right protection

Contrary to the multicultural family policy which omits gender from its text, there is a separate policy category *icwu yeseng* (immigrant women) under the category of Human Right Protection, along with categories of Domestic Violence Prevention, Sexual Violence Prevention, Child Sexual Protection Policies, Employment Limitation for Sexual Criminals, Sexual Prostitution Prevention, Sexual Harassment Prevention, and Japanese Military Comfort Women Victim Support. The objective of *icwu yeseng* protection policy states ‘to protect human rights of victims through protection and support for immigrant women and dependent children victims of domestic, sexual violence and sexual prostitution’. The main project is *danuri call center*, which provides hotlines in Vietnamese, Chinese, Tagalog, Cambodian, Uzbek, Mongolian, Russian, Japanese, and English for consulting and reporting violence. Once reported, the center supports the victims to receive practical help with professional consultants, shelters, lawyers, and hospitals (www.mogef.or.kr/korea/view/policyguide).

The explicit gender categorization of ‘immigrant women’ can be understood as a reflection of reality, in that the great attention to protecting immigrant women’s human rights in the policy texts itself is a textual evidence of injustice against the women. For instance, nearly 50% of the marriage immigrant women were reported to have experienced violence in their

marriage (Kim, O.Y., 2009; Kim Y.K, 2009) in 2009. The domestic violence marriage immigrant women underwent included 30.6% of physical violence (e.g., throwing and hitting objects), 28.9% emotional including verbal, 19.6% negligence of the family (e.g., lack of interest in family care, being cold to the family, etc.), 12.6% economic exploitation, and 6.6% sexual abuse according to the survey conducted by Kim, Y. K., (2009). The ratio of the violence also increased over time according to the respondents, 16.7% of whom reported that they simply endured the violence without taking any action. Responding to such violations, the regulations on international marriage agencies and brokers emphasized the strict registration qualifications for agencies, the regulations on false advertisements in an attempt to deliver accurate information about the Korean grooms' age, income, marriage history, criminal records, and so forth, and lastly the prohibition of arranging marriages with women under the age of 18. While the emphasis is placed on their Korean language proficiency in the recent law regarding the immigrant spouses, there is more attention to economical and criminal history of the Korean spouse. The unsaid gender of marriage immigrants in the multicultural family policy, therefore, it is women who are expected to learn Korean culture and language to assimilate to Korean society and who are exposed to the danger of domestic and sexual violence by their Korean spouses and families.

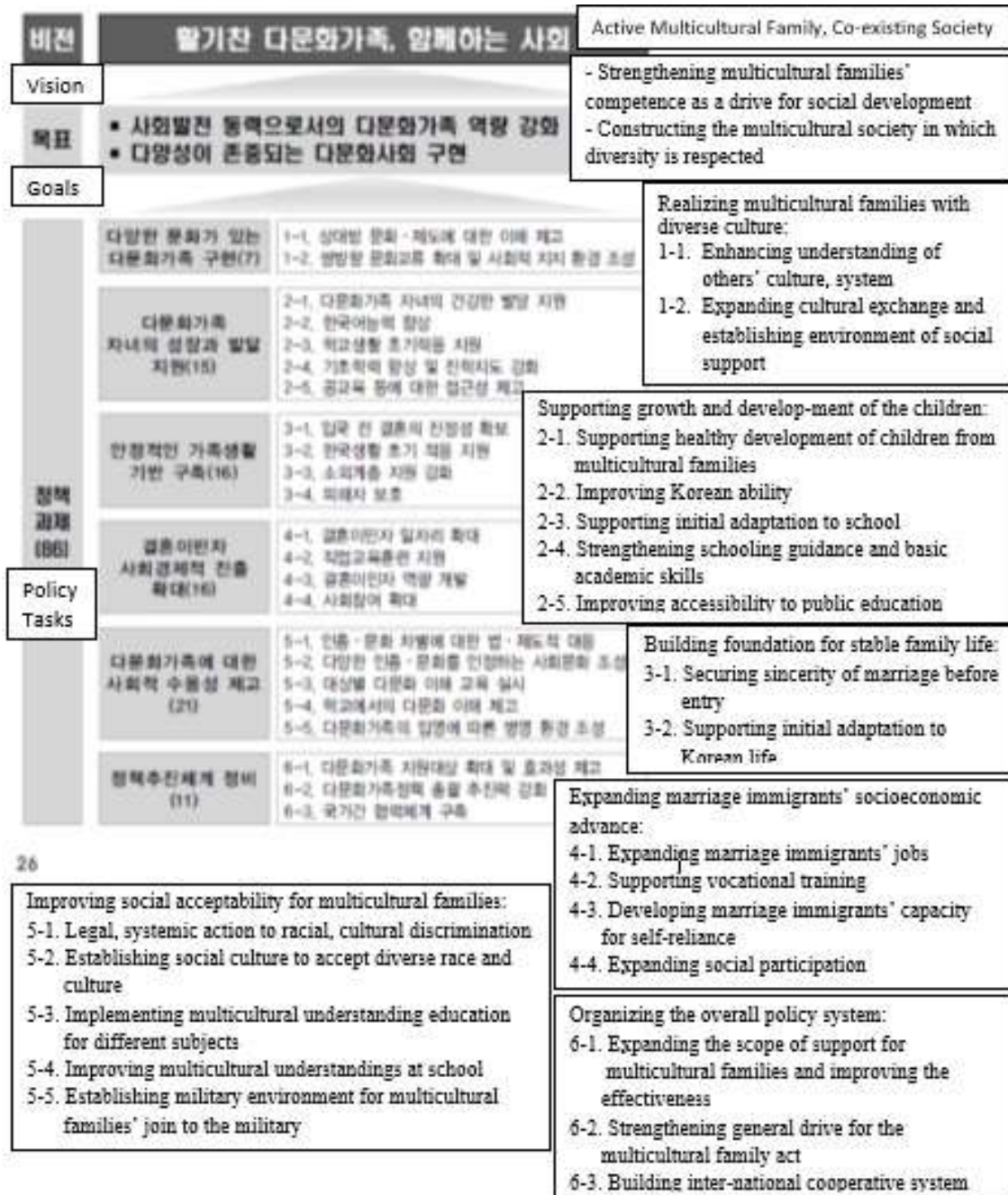
Such crisis supports are also in Guide Books for Living in Korea and the Customized Life Cycle Support Service, reflecting the reality in which many women reportedly experience violence either from their husbands or in-law family members. According to Lee, Ahn, and Park (2012), Korean teachers have also reported cases when the mother-in-law would sit right next to her migrant daughter-in-law during her Korean lessons in order to keep her daughter-in-law from telling Hyemin what happens in their home. Hyemin, the teacher of the KSL in the study, stress

the need to take the daughter-in-law out of the house to enable her to tell her stories in such cases since most of such cases involve abuse or violence. The policy discourse, therefore, creates new reality for the women where they are protected by the law and provided with shelters, as well as reflects the existing reality.

5.3. Changes in the Policy Discourse

In December 2012, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family issued the second edition of Multicultural Family Policy General Plan (2013-2017), with evaluations of the first edition. The Ministry defines the period between 2013 and 2017 as a ‘Development Period’ of multicultural family policy, compared to ‘Birth Period’ from 2008 through 2012. Their overall evaluation of the first General Plan states (originally in Korean), ‘Even though (we) expanded the dispensation of support focusing on the marriage migrants’ adaptation to Korean culture for their early settlement, (there have been) problems of reinforcing the negative perception that views the multicultural families as marginalized minority’. Based on the evaluation, the new general plan aims at ‘developing multicultural families’ ability as the drive force for national development and creating the culture that respects one another’s culture in family and society’. Congruent with the earlier policy statements, the omitted semantic agent is the Korean government, and the multicultural families are the patient or recipient. The statement does not, however, problematize the underpinning asymmetrical worldview on the migrants in integrationist perspective, and in fact it reconfirms it by using lexical items such as ‘dispensation’ and ‘adaptation.’ Figure 5 shows their revised goal and vision statement for the ‘Development Period’ of Multicultural Family Policy.

Figure 5. 2nd Edition Multicultural Families Policy General Plan (2013-2017)



Vision of the new policy plan is ‘Active Multicultural Family, Co-existing Society,’ under which two goals are stated to accomplish the vision. The first is ‘strengthening multicultural families’ competence as a drive for social development,’ and the other is ‘constructing the multicultural society in which diversity is respected.’ Compared with the earlier

general policy plan, more emphasis is placed on the socioeconomic independence of multicultural families with increased awareness of intercultural understanding of marriage immigrant women. Under the goals there are six policy plans with more detailed sub-plans. The plans include ‘constructing multicultural families with multiple cultures,’ ‘supporting growth and development of the children from multicultural families,’ ‘building foundation for stable family life,’ ‘expanding marriage migrants’ socio-economic advance,’ ‘creating societal acceptance of multicultural families,’ and ‘organizing the system to realize the policy plans.’

One recognizable change is that it recognizes the potential pitfalls of the integrationist policy. The new policy plan includes ‘monitoring the multicultural family education to turn the focus from unidirectional Korean culture education to respecting different cultures’. Also, it introduces media programs on *Arirang TV*, the English Channel in Korea, about diverse cultures languages in an attempt to raise intercultural awareness. However, the only spaces for marriage immigrants’ L1 were their employment as interpreters and their children’s bilingual education, which actually has little effect since the children may refuse or in-law family members discourage them to speak their mother’s L1 to avoid being marked in the society (Kim & Lee, 2012). On the contrary, more visible attention is paid to the need to include marriage immigrants’ L1s and C1s in multicultural education and other policies, reflecting the limitation of the integrationist ideology in the original general plan. This sheds light on the potential for social and ideological changes in the policy discourses, since the policy texts are a social practice and bear possibilities for challenges and changes. The motivation for such a change seems to derive from their concerns about the possible adversity among Korean citizens towards multicultural society and the spending national of funds on the migrants, creating a possible threat to the social unity (Hwang, 2015; Lee & Baik, 2012; Han, 2014). As Hwang (2015)

discussed, discourses on marriage immigrant women in media and policy constructed two conflicting worldviews on them; on one hand, they are represented as vulnerable to domestic and sexual violence and hence in need of protection (e.g., immigrant women policy under human right protection). On the other hand, they are portrayed as individuals with free will and possibility to take advantage of Korean citizens in discourses which foregrounds ‘sincerity’ or ‘validity’ of international marriages (e.g., newly implemented language requirements for immigrants). Consequently, marriage immigrant women are positioned as others who could possibly harm the social unity and security when they are not viewed as vulnerable minority. They are both in danger and a danger.

As for seemingly pluralist perspectives on multilingualism and increased attention to multiculturalism, there seems to be consistent nationalistic and neo-liberal interest both in the original plan in which the children from multicultural families were considered as bilingual ‘human capitals’ to bring economic advantages to Korea and the second edition. In fact, the second general plan seems to further emphasize the economic value of immigrants in order to prevent the growing Korean citizens’ adversity towards the immigrants and legitimize immigrants’ presence in the society. The lexical items such as ‘ability’ (*nunglyek*), ‘drive force’ (*wentonglyek*), and ‘national development’ (*kwukka palcen*) all resonate with the underpinning neo-liberal ideology to be a successful leader in the globalized market economy, revealing the economic interest of the nation in the immigrants.

5.4. Summary

The findings of this chapter showed the underlying worldviews of the policy discourses on marriage immigrant women in the context of multicultural families of Korea. The

predominant ideologies that shape policy discourses on multicultural spaces and marriage immigrant women's socialization in Korea were integrationist, one-nation one-language ideologies that reinforce patriarchal gender responsibilities of women. The most prominent vocabulary use in the policy was 'integration' (*thonghap*) and 'adaptation' (*cekung*) of marriage immigrants to Korea by learning the Korean language and assimilating to the cultural practices and perspectives of Korea, which eventually benefits the 'social unity' of Korea (*sahoy thonghap*) in the era of globalization (*seykyeyhwa sitay*). Moreover, the often-omitted agent of giving support (*ciwen*), accepting immigrants (*swuyong*) with tolerance (*kwanyong*) and understanding (*ihay*) were Koreans, whereas marriage immigrants and multicultural families were positioned as the patients and the recipients. Such positioning of and support for marriage immigrants also shows favoritism for females, in that the majority of the contents and constructions of the policy texts pertained to pregnancy (*imsin*), birth-giving (*chwulsan*), and raising children (*yangywuk*) while more emphasis was on the financial ability regarding Korean spouses despite the omission of gender (e.g., absence of *yeseng* (women) in the term 'marriage immigrants' (*kyellhon iminca*)).

CHAPTER 6. MEDIA DISCOURSE ON MARRIAGE IMMIGRANT WOMEN

6.0. Introduction

Mass media discourses, which can be influenced by the ideologies in the nation-state discourses, function as an influential authority and primary source in shaping people's knowledge and opinions about immigrants and minorities as they cannot necessarily observe and experience the topic through their daily interactions (van Dijk, 2008). To examine the interlinked relationships among discourses in the nation-state policy and media, and the influence of the discourses on the public images of marriage immigrant women, this chapter analyzes the representation of marriage immigrant women in one of the most well-known television programs that tells stories of marriage immigrant women *Love in Asia*, which aired weekly from November 2005 to February 2015.

The overall structure of the show consists of a documentary introduction of the women and their daily lives in Korea, on-stage interviews with the couple which occasionally include children and the husband's family, a documentary of their journey to the women's home countries where they spend approximately one week, wrap-up interviews on stage, and the emcees' closing comments on current issues related to multicultural families. The documentary portions are combined with a Korean narrator's narration and interactions between the VJ and people in the documentary such as marriage immigrants themselves, Korean spouses, in-laws, neighbors, friends, and colleagues. The analyses of this chapter investigate all types of the interactions on the show. Considering that the target audience of the show mainly consists Koreans and transnationals who use Korean as a lingua franca and that social positioning of the

women primarily occurs in the narration or interviews in Korean, I used the translated Korean subtitles when women's L1s are spoken by their families in the interviews.

I limited the scope of my analysis to 64 episodes with women from Vietnam. It is because Vietnam appeared most frequently (14%) and because two women from Vietnam (*Youngbee* and *Yuni*) in my study brought up the show in their interactions. The analysis of this chapter employs Fairclough's (1989, 1992) analytical frameworks of CDA to investigate dimensions of the media discourse as text, discursive practice, and social practice to reveal ideologies that surround marriage immigrant women. I microanalyze narration, interview, and interactions on the show in terms of vocabulary choices and grammatical devices (syntactic and semantic structure, voice, modality, agency, syntactic association), and omission that explicitly and implicitly impose certain ideologies and identities on women. To illuminate institutional and social orders in which the media texts are constructed, I also analyze the process of who create, circulate, and consume *Love in Asia*. In so doing, I examine whose voices are represented and how those voices are legitimized, and which subject positions of marriage immigrant women are foregrounded. In addition, my analysis excavates what is unsaid and omitted in the media representation which indicates the boundaries of acceptable discourses. The first sub-section analyzes the underlying integrationist ideologies on the show. The next section examines another prominent theme: gendered positions and ideologies imposed on women. I then discuss the representations of Vietnam.

6.1. Integration into Korean Society

Kim, Park, and Lee (2009) discuss the representations of marriage immigrant women in *Love in Asia*, in comparison to another television talk show *Talk of Beautiful Women* which

represented different demographics of foreign women in Korea. Their analyses point out *Talk of Beautiful Women* positions the women, who are mainly international students or professionals residing in Korea, as agentive evaluators of Korean culture and illuminate Korean society through the perspectives of these transnational women in Korea. On the other hand, *Love in Asia* focuses on marriage immigrant women and emphasizes their marginalized position both in their home countries and in Korea and positions them as a victim of poverty and worthy of our sympathy. In doing so, *Love in Asia* also reinforces the integrationist ideology that stress immigrant women's assimilation to Korean society which consequently reinforce the policy discourse about marriage immigrant women. Similarly, Yang (2007) demonstrates how media discourses in Korea perpetuate the integrationist ideology by foregrounding assimilation of immigrants and excluding the discourse of discrimination. Her analysis of major newspaper discourses on marriage immigrant women shows that media discourse de-emphasizes socioeconomic inequality as secondary in integrating 'others' to 'our' society and attributes their integration solely to acculturation. This section will also investigate how and to what degree recent media discourse in Korea reinforces the integrationist ideologies on multiculturalism and to what extent the discourse creates spaces for transformation by analyzing the 64 episodes of the well-known television show *Love in Asia*.

The title and the official vision statement of the show the general aim of the show. The title is spelled in the original Korean as '러브 인 아시아,' with the Chinese character '人' which means 'human'. In Korean, the character is pronounced same as an English word 'in'. Accordingly, in Korean, the title of is *lepu in asia*, 'love in Asia'. The title implies its emphasis on romance with a particular focus on the context of globalized Korea in Asia. The title also

indicates its primary focus on Asians migrants in Korea who are pursuing ‘love,’ a spouse and a family. The official goal statements for the show are as follows:

'lepu in asia'-nun kwukkyeng-ul nem-e kkwum-kwa salang-ul
 love in Asia-TOP national border-OBJ over dream-and love-OBJ

ilwuko-ca i ttang-ul chac-un asia-in-tul-ul ttattusha-n
 achieve-to this land-OBJ find-RL.PST Asia-person-PL-OBJ warm-RL.PRE

sikak-ulo comyengha-ko kutul-uy salm-ey paccak takaka-se kutul-i
 view-with illuminate-and they-of life-to closely approach-and they-SUB

han kaceng-uy kwusengwen-ulose ciyek saho-uy ilwen-ulose inceng
 one family-of member-as local society-of member-as approval

pat-nun kyeyki-lul malyenha-nta
 receive-RL.PRE chance-OBJ arrange-PLN.DC
'Love in Asia' arranges a chance to warmly illuminate and get close to the lives of Asians, who came to this land beyond national borders in pursuit of dream and love, to be approved as a member of a family and a local society.

cey kak.kak-uy sayen-ul sit-ko nachse-n ikwuk
 one's each-of story-OBJ carry-and strange-RL.PRE foreign country

ttang-ulo sicip o-n oykwukin myenuli.tul-un
 land-to in-law;s come-RL.PST foreigner daughterS-in-law-TOP

onul-to umsik ene uysik tung mwunhwa-uy chai-lo inhan
 today-also food language ritual etc. culture-of difference-caused by

swu-manh-un sihayngchako-lul kyek-ko iss-ta
 numberless trial and error-OBJ experience-PRO-PLN.DC
Foreign daughters-in-law, who are married to their husband's family and moved to a foreign country with different stories, are still experiencing numberless trials and errors caused by cultural differences including food, language, and custom today.

'lepu in asia'-nun ilen asia-in myenuli-ey tayha-n
 love in Asia-TOP like this Asian daughter-in-law-about-RL.PRE

iwus.tul-uy ayceng eli-n kwansim-ul asia-la-nun ilum-ulo
 neighbors-of affectionate-RL.PRE attention-OBJ Asia-QT-RL.PRE name-by

phwum-e pokoca ha-nta
 embrace-intend to do-PLN.DC
'Love in Asia' intends to embrace the neighbors' affectionate attention on these Asian daughters-in-law under the name of 'Asia'.

The show identifies itself as a spokesperson for ‘Asian daughters-in-law’. The show explicitly positions women as ‘daughters-in-law’ of Korean families who left their pre-marriage

lives in the past and devoted themselves to the husband's family. This is shown in its use of a gender-biased term for marriage, 'came into husband's patrilineal family' (*sicip on*) instead of a gender-neutral term 'married' (*kyelhonhan*). It also assumes that all women desire to acculturate to Korean culture and seek approval of Koreans. The self-identification of the show clearly aligns with the policy discourse on marriage immigrant women, who migrated from Asian countries poorer than Korea and "married into Korean families" to become ideologically perfect Korean daughters-in-law. Given the fact that the program was aired on a public broadcasting channel KBS (Korean Broadcasting System), the discourses on the show by and large align with the policy discourse on marriage immigrant women. Accordingly, the show claims to promote understandings of multicultural families as 'our neighbor' and building a healthy multicultural society while other television programs on privately-own channels that represent marriage immigrant women depict conflicts between the women and in-law families and the exotic charm of foreign wives in a more provoking manner (Lee, 2009).

In the main texts, they repeatedly used vocabulary items that resonate with integrationism, explicitly positioning women as 'others' based on their nation of origin and foreign-ness. Moreover, these positioning was often followed by stories of their past struggle and conflicts as newcomers and their successful adaptation and assimilation to become like "Korean." I coded explicit vocabulary choices and longer constructions of evaluative comments on the Vietnamese women with regard to language ideologies on multiculturalism, mostly integrationism. I categorized them into three positioning of the women: Vietnamese, foreigners or non-Korean, and (adapted to) Korean in Table 4. I divided the Vietnamese women's self-positioning and positioning by others, in that it is important to distinguish how the women position themselves in relation to the ideologies surrounding them and how the producers of the

show or other Korean members of the women's local communities represent them. I provided a context in which each quote occurred on the show in parentheses next to the English translations of each quote. As for the abbreviations in the tables of this chapter, narrators are abbreviated as NR, husbands as H, mothers and fathers -in-law as MIL and FIL respectively, sisters-in-law as SIL, neighbors as NEI, and VJs as VJ.

Table 4. Integrationist Ideologies in Self and Other Positioning

Positioning	Voice	Examples
Vietnamese	Self	<p>annyenghaseyyo ce-nun peythunam-eyse o-n hello.POL I.HUM-TOP Vietnam-from come-RL.PST (On stage) 'Hello, I am (her name) from Vietnam.'</p> <p>cip-eyse wuli peytunam mal hay-yo namphyen home-at we Vietnamese lang. do-POL husband o-myen ta hankwulmal ha-ko come-if all Korean do-and (To VJ) 'We (with her children) speak Vietnamese at home and speak Korean when my husband comes home.'</p>
	Others	<p>(NR) peytunam.tayk¹⁴-uy kiph-un sokceng-ul Vietnam.woman-of deep-RL affection-OBJ 'Affection of a wife from Vietnam'</p> <p>(NR) peytunam sinpwu 'Vietnamese bride'</p>
Foreigner/ Non-Korean	Self	<p>cey-ka oykwuk salam-inikka hankwuk umsik-ul I.HUM-SUB foreign person-because Korean food-OBJ cal mos hay-yo: ape.nim-kkey mianha-n well cannot do-POL father.HON-to.HON sorry-RL.PST ke kuke-yeyyo thing that-be.POL (To VJ at the hospital. Her FIL has been hospitalized for years. She looks after him and cooks for parents-in-law) 'Because I'm a foreigner, I can't cook Korean food well, so I'm sorry about that to my father-in-law.'</p> <p>caki emma-ka oykwuk salam-ita ha-ko wangtta one's mom-SUB foreign person-be say-and bullying tangha-l-kka pwa yelsimhi kongpwuhay-se be-RL.FUT-INT in case diligently study-and then mesci-n emma-ka toy-ko siph-eyo cool-RL.PRE mom-SUB become-want to-POL (To VJ) 'I'm worried my son will be bullied because his mom is a foreigner, so I'm studying hard to become a cool mom.'</p>

¹⁴ 'tayk' is a suffix attached to a region to refer to a woman to married and moved from that region.

kongcang-eyse oykwuk salam-i-late suthuleysu: com
 factory-at foreign person-be-so stress a bit
manhi pat-ass-eyo
 a lot receive-PST-POL
 (To VJ) 'I was stressed out at the factory because I'm
 a foreigner.'

oykwuk-eyse wa-ss-tako mos pay-wess-tako
 foreign country-from come-PST-QT cannot learn-PST-QT
mwucoken swunconggha-lako
 unconditionally obey-QT
 (Reading her essay at the Multicultural Center's
 Writing Competition) '(Koreans) telling me to
 unconditionally obey because I'm from a foreign country
 and not educated well...'

cheum hankwuk-ey wa-se hankwukmal-to molu-ko
 first Korea-to come-so Korean-also not know-and
hankwuk umsik-to moll-ayo namphyen ta
 Korean food-also not know-POL husband all
hay cw-eyo
 do for me-POL
 (On stage) 'When I first came to Korea, I didn't know
 the Korean language. I didn't know Korean food. My
 husband did everything for me.'

kongpwuhay noh-aya talun hankwuk emma-tul-chelem
 study-so other Korean mom-PL-like
cal ha-ko
 well do-and
 (To VJ) 'I should study so I can be as good as other
 Korean moms'

Others (NR) **oykwukin myenuli il ho**
 foreigner daughter-in-law one number
 'The first foreign daughter-in-law'

(VJ) **oykwukin myenuli-lase: com**
 foreigner daughter-in-law-so bit
elyep-ci.n anh-usy-ess-eyo emeni.m;
 difficult-not.TOP-HON-PST-POL mother.HON
 (To MIL) 'Wasn't it a bit difficult because she's a
 Foreign daughter-in-law?'

(NR) **kaltunh-uy kacang khu.n wenin-un mwunhwa**
 conflict-of most big.RL reason-TOP culture
chai
 difference
 'The biggest reason for the conflict, cultural
 Differences.'

(FIL) **oykwuk (.) salam-i-ciman cham chakha-ko. mwe:**
 Foreign person-be-but truly nice-and DM
 (To VJ) 'She's a foreigner but very nice and
 such.'

(NEI) **chakha-ko pwucilenha-ko hankwuk.ay pota**

		<p>nice-and diligent-and Korean.kid than nas-te-lako-yo better-RET-QT-POL (To VJ) 'Nice and diligent, better than Koreans, as I observed.'</p>
		<p>(SIL) wulinala yecatul-to ilehkey mos hay our country women-also like this cannot do.INT cengmal-lo nay-ka incenghay really I.PLN-SUB approve.INT (To MIL) 'Even our country's women cannot do like this, as she does. Really. I give kudos to her.'</p>
		<p>(NR) cokum sethwul-ki.n ha-ciman ai-tul-i little clumsy-NOM.TOP do-but children-SUB calanun mankhum cala-ko iss-ta grow-as much growing-DL.PLN 'She is a little clumsy, but she's growing to become Korean (learning Korean and other subjects) as much as her children.'</p>
Korean	Self	<p>hankwukmal cal ha-ko hanywuli-to cal kaluchi-ko Korean well do-and Hanyul-also well teach-want to siph-eyo -POL (To VJ) 'I want to speak Korean well and teach my son well, too.'</p>
	Others	<p>(NR) yamwucin hanhwuk saytayk-i twayss-ta smart Korean new bride became '(She) became a smart Korean new bride.'</p> <p>(MIL) cheum-ey.n mal-to an thong-hako first-at.TOP language-also not go through-and hay-ss-nuntey kumpang cekungha-te-lako-yo do-PST-but soon adapt-RET-QT-POL (To VJ) 'At first, she didn't speak the language and such, but she adapted soon.'</p> <p>(H) ce pota kimchi te cal mek-eyo hankwuk I.HUM than kimchi more well eat-POL Korean salam-i-eyo (hh) person-be-POL 'She eats Kimchi better than me. She's Korean, haha.'</p> <p>(NR) icey-n hankwuk umsik-i te ipmas-ey mac-tamye now-TOP Korea food-SUB more taste-to suit- hearsay (On her birthday) 'As she says Korean food now suits her taste buds more, (she cooks Korean seaweed soup)'</p> <p>(NEI) umsik ha-nun kes-to wuli siemeni food do-RL thing-also our mother-in-law isang-ulo cal ha-n.ta more well do-DL.PLN (To VJ) 'She also cooks better than her MIL.'</p> <p>(NR) ilehkey hankwuk-eyse cekungha-mye hayngpok-ul</p>

	like this Korea-in	adapt-while	happiness-OBJ
	khiwe naka-pnita		
	raise continue-DL.DEF		
	'She's building happiness as adapting to Korea.'		

NR=Narrator / H=husband / MIL=mother-in-law / FIL=father-in-law / SIL=sister-in-law /
NEI=neighbor

6.1.1. Positioning women as others

Self and other positioning of the women as 'others' of the society occur the most frequently in the show. This is constructed either through explicit labeling of Vietnamese, foreigners or non-Koreans, and novice members (31% of the expressions related to integrationism) as well as through evaluative comments on their successful adaptation (42%) or hardship from failure to adapt (17.5%). Comments that highlight their adaptation include discussions of Korean language learning (18%), use of the word 'adaptation' (*cekung*) (11%), acculturation to Korean food (5%), becoming Korean (4%), and their happy Korean life (4%). To begin with, it is noteworthy that they use the women's nation of origin to identify women at the beginning of the narration ('Vietnamese bride') or in the scripted self-introduction of the women on stage ('(I came) from Vietnam') instead of inclusively positioning them as transnational Koreans. For instance, the women are never simply identified as *hankwuk salam* ('Korean person') or *wuli nala salam* ('our country person'), the term used by native Korean speakers to inclusively refer to Korean nationals as well as Korean diaspora yet excluding transnational Koreans such as migrants. In other words, the discourse on the show constantly others the women through labeling them outside the commonly used category of native Koreans, which accompanies the emphasis on their effort to become one.

Of particular interest is that different ideologies emerge from the women's self-positioning and other-positioning of the women as foreigners (*oykwukin* or *oykwuk salam*). While self-positioning as foreigners primarily concerns with their positions that are marginalized

and discriminated against in Korean society, other-positioning of Koreans attribute conflicts to lack of the women's knowledge in Korean language and culture and depict them as a potential threat to the society if they fail to acculturate, which reflects the integrationist ideologies. For example, the women discuss how they as 'foreigners' feel incapable (*cal mos hayyo*), bullied (*wangtta tanghalkka pwa*), stressed (*suthuleysu manhi patasseyo*), and forced to obey (*mwucoken swunconghalako*); however, the producers of the show do not raise questions of or elaborate on the salient discrimination against the marriage immigrant women brought up by the women themselves. Instead, their quotes are backgrounded as their struggle as newcomers of the society and currently as resolved or overcome by highlighting their successful adaptation through voices of Koreans on the show.

Discussions of the women's successful integration include vocabulary choices such as 'adaptation' (*cekung*), 'learn' (*paywuta*), which are mostly followed by 'Korean language' (*hankwuke, hankwukmal*) or 'Korean culture' (*hankwuk mwunhwa*). In addition to Korean language learning, adjusting to Korean food is another discursively constructed indicator that shows their successful adaptation (5%) in emphasizing their ability to cook Korean food or animating their preference for Korean food to Vietnamese. By highlighting their appetite change and daily practices with Korean food in such ways, the discourse emphasizes and beautifies their assimilation to become like Koreans and portrays it as an ideal state for marriage immigrant women. Moreover, evaluative comments of Koreans such as 'now (she) is good (at speaking Korean, cooking Korean food, etc.)' (*icey(n) cal hay*) are often used to indicate their successful integration via assimilation. Their successful integration is also highlighted by calling them 'Koreans' (4%), especially as 'Korean married women' (*hankwuk acwumma*) or 'became a Korean person' (*hankwuk salam ta twayssta*), all of which are said by other Korean people with

a high pitch or followed by laughter and compliments. The similar portion of the discourse (4%) describes their lives in Korea as ‘happy’ (*hayngpokhata*) and ‘joyful’ (*culkepta*), usually at the end of the show to wrap up the story or when they ask the women to evaluate their lives in Korea. Syntactically, expressions that highlight their successful integration are often preceded by constructions that position the women as novice members (9%) of the society who are incapable and thus to be taught (e.g., ‘clumsy’ (*sethwulta*), ‘do not know’ (*moluta*), ‘teach’ (*kaluchita*), etc.). It is also noticeable their experiences with unfamiliar cultural practices are solely attributed to their identities as foreigners and novice members of Korea while it is actually common struggle many Korean women undergo after marriage due to the expectations to assimilate to the husband’s family. Acceptance of the women as ‘Koreans,’ however, are also compared to ‘Koreans’ (4%), which positions Korean (women) as the norm and the Vietnamese women as others. Interestingly, positioning the women as Korean only occurred in the quotes of Koreans on the show. By giving voices to Koreans to determine whether or not to accept the women as legitimate members of the society, the producers of the show reinforce the integrationist ideology that consider members of the host society as the agent of integration.

That is, Koreans’ positioning of the women on the show reflect the asymmetrical worldview of the integrationism (Weber & Horner, 2012): positioning Koreans as the agent of integration and positioning immigrants as a potential problem to the social unity. While the women’s self-positioning as foreigners raised questions of discrimination against and stigmatization of them by Koreans, family members and producers of the show foreground their immigrant identity as a reason for the struggle they encounter in Korea. For example, in-law family members describe their foreign identity as deficit (‘She’s a foreigner but very nice’) or problematic (‘Wasn’t it a bit difficult because she’s a foreign daughter-in-law?’). Their identities

as foreigners are legitimized when they perform a devoted and obedient daughter-in-law, a standard many Korean women cannot live up to ('Nice and diligent, better than Koreans,' 'Even our country's women cannot do like this, as she does'). Such reinforcement of assimilation to become like Koreans to "be integrated" into the Korean society by Koreans resonates with the worldview of the policy discourse. Since 'Love in Asia' was aired by the public broadcasting channel which is mainly sponsored by the government, its representation and positioning of marriage immigrant women by and large reflect the government's agenda on them.

On the other hand, such othering of the women illuminates their transnational selves on the show, as the narrator foregrounds their 'Vietnamese-ness' and 'foreign-ness' in the documentaries. For instance, the show portrays women's interactions in Vietnamese at gatherings with their Vietnamese or other transnational friends from different countries with voices louder than when they interact with their Korean in-law members. Moreover, transnational communities of women from different countries wherein Korean is the medium of communication are also shown in these parts of the show. They tell the VJ how they met each other: at workplaces (e.g., Multicultural Night Market) and in Korean language programs. It is also where the women's voices are heard frequently on the show in an interview format; their reaction to and reflection of the day are framed to indicate their happiness (e.g. 'so good' (*nemwu cohayo*), in their transnational communities (e.g., 'because of my Vietnamese friends' (*peythunam chinkwu issese/isseunikka*)). In one episode, the woman says it was difficult to work at a factory due to her 'foreigner' identity while she is happy working at a multicultural night market with other transnational women since they 'respect' (*concwung*) each other, in comparison to Korean people at the factory. In addition, one woman tells the VJ that 'we' (*wuli*), her and her children, speak Vietnamese at home unless her husband is present; her exclusive use

of the pronoun *wuli* indicates her identification as Vietnamese speaker along with her children who are also Vietnamese. Their consistent interactions with other transnationals and in their L1 indicate that they maintain connections to home cultures and form communities among transnationals instead of solely assimilating to become like Korean natives. Such transnational practices, however, are backgrounded as the show merely constitutes it as their foreignness or to simply and generally raise awareness of ‘tolerance’ (*kwanyong*) from ‘us’ (*wuli-uy*), Koreans, and shifts the focus back to their integration process via assimilation.

6.1.2. Discursive constructions of othering

Of a particular interest is the syntactic structures, cause-effect associations, discursive framing of the themes and utterances in the discursive process of othering. First, every sentence about the women’s hardship and conflicts with their in-law families, husbands, or learning Korean culture and language is constructed in the past tense while their happiness and successful adaptation are in the present tense. Only their homesickness is set in the present tense among what is heard as existing challenges and difficulties. Moreover, associations among adaptation, hardship, acquiring or lacking Korean language proficiency, and happiness shed special light on understanding how adaptation of immigrants are represented on the show. The most frequent associations are made with Korean language; when the women obtain fluency in the Korean language, it is associated with successful adaptation, which is associated with happy life in Korea, whereas lacking Korean proficiency is as frequently associated with struggles they experienced as they were newcomers in the past. Their Korean language learning thus is positioned as beneficial to their lives in Korea; on the contrary, there is no discussion on celebrating or acknowledging multilingual Korea.

Whereas the Korean language and the women's 'adaptation' are diversely elaborated in storytelling and interviewing through voices of both Koreans and immigrant women themselves, the association between women's transnational identities and successful settlement in Korea are omitted. Descriptions on their transnational practices are limited to simple portrayal of their hangouts with other transnational friends or their personal reflections on them without further comments on the significance of these transnational spaces in women's lives. Similarly, when women mention their frequent visit to Vietnam, communications with other transnationals, and happiness resulted from these transnational spaces (e.g., 'elated' (*sinnata*), 'happy' (*hayngpokhayyo*), 'good' (*cohayo*)), it ends without further in-depth discussion that foreground the need to acknowledge and promote their transnational identities in Korea. The documentary continues with their return to home to prepare dinner for the family and continues to describe their daily routines with cooking, cleaning, bathing children, and helping parents-in-law. The connections between their transnational identities and self-claimed happiness are thus not associated with their successful settlement in Korea. In addition, many of them attend language, cooking, dancing, or other culture-focused classes, which is solely depicted as their active learning and adapting to Korea; however, the classes are also transnational communities of practice women regularly engage in. Their discursive practices not only include speaking Korean with Koreans, but they also regularly interact in Vietnamese, English, and Korean with other transnationals, which is backgrounded by the narration that emphasizes their passion for learning Korean food and language.

On the other hand, the most frequently recurring theme in the women's self-quotes were conflicts; the majority of their ongoing struggles include their feeling sorry and inadequate as 'foreigners' (*oykwukin*) for their children and in-law families, and their homesickness. Conflicts

related to assimilation, racism, or discrimination, however, are entirely constructed in the past tense. Discussions of the past conflicts also often attribute conflicts to women's lack of knowledge in Korean language and culture and the imposition of familial duties as a daughter-in-law. Such conflicts are represented as resolved after women acquired Korean proficiency and became accustomed to culture of their in-law families while there is no discussion on how diverse perspectives women bring into the picture can diversify worldviews in Korea.

In addition, the voices of immigrant women in the media tend to be limited to simply reacting and as witnesses to specific topics that are discussed instead of as active agents to bring about issues and solve them (cf. Yang, 2007). For example, discussions of the struggles with in-law families, especially with mothers-in-law (*kobwukaltung*), are attributed to lack of knowledge of a foreign daughter-in-law in Korean culture and language or mere 'cultural difference' through the voices of the narrator and mothers-in-law. Close examination of how the story is framed, however, reveals the omission of the power asymmetry between daughters-in-law and Korean in-law members. The following example is extracted from the episode 262, aired on March 15, 2011.

Tien: mal-lo ssawu-nun ke ani-ko: cip-ey mwulken (.)
word-with fight-RL.PRE thing be not-and house-in object

kulayse tongney salam-tul-i mwe keynchal sinkoha-ko,
so neighborhood person-PL-SUB DM police report-and
It's not quarrel, but (mother-in-law throws) things in the house.
So neighbors, like, called the police and,

[...]

((Crying)) nemwu mwusewe-yo. (.) han pen ssawu-myen ce-nun
too scary-POL one time fight-if I.HUM-TOP

cincca thwumyeng al-cyo thwumyeng.
really transparent know-SUP.POL transparent
She's too scary. Once we start fighting, I really, transparent,
you know, right? Transparent.

VJ: thwumyeng inkan?
transparent human?

Invisible person?

Tien: e (.) toy-ko siph-eyo
yes.INT become-want to-POL
Yeah, I want to become that.

The daughter-in-law's narratives of the experiences consist of lexical items such as 'scary' (*mwusewesseyo*) in describing the mother-in-law's action: 'yells (*emeni soli cilleyo*)' and 'throws objects (*mwulken tencyeyo*)' during their 'fight,' later in the interview. It usually started when Tien could not eat Korean food as well as the mother-in-law desired or when Tien misunderstood mother-in-law's verbal demands. Toward the end of the interview regarding the past conflicts, Tien also said she even wanted to jump off the apartment building and commit a suicide when she was pregnant with her oldest daughter (*ku ttay khun ay imsinhayssko ce cincca naylyeko cwukko siphe nemwu himtunnika*) due to the stress cause by her mother-in-law. In discussing such 'fight,' which rather sounds abusive, the voices of daughters-in-law are limited to describing the factual descriptions of the events and their own personal feelings instead of posing questions to the issue. Similarly, while emcees and VJs frequently question in-law families, husbands, and neighbors about the quality of the marriage immigrant women as wives and daughters-in-law, there was no space that invite the women to evaluate Koreans or discuss the discrimination and violence committed by Koreans unless it is a special episode with a controversial topic (e.g., regulating the agencies on their insensitive advertisement).

After Tien's factual description and expression of her feelings, the mother-in-law's interview follows; her justifications are framed as objective causes for their 'fight' (*ssawum*). She explains how both of them were 'frustrated' (*taptaphata*) due to 'the language barrier' (*mal-i an thongha-nikka*). The narrator continues to elaborate the mother-in-law's perspective; 'to the mother-in-law's eyes' (*siemeni nwun-ey-nun*), the daughter-in-law's ways of cooking or living were 'absurd' (*hwangtanghata*). The narration frames it as a fight or conflict between two equal

parties, which was naturally resolved as the daughter-in-law acquired Korean language proficiency ('Tien's Korean has improved, so they solve (conflict) with conversations'). Despite the clear description of the mother-in-law's verbal and physical violence and the absence of counter-acts from the daughter-in-law, the show refuses to label it as domestic violence by adopting a euphemistic word 'fight' and 'conflict'. It is noteworthy that the conflicts between in-law families and the women are solely attributed to the identities of daughters-in-law as "foreigners" although Korean women also often undergo such struggles as daughters-in-law which result from the gendered power structure in the family domain that impose patriarchal ideologies on women. By doing so, the gendered power asymmetry between in-law families and the women remains unsaid and omitted from the discourse, which I will analyze further in the next section.

Moreover, VJs in the documentary or emcees on stage ask the parents-in-law if they have felt 'awkward' (*konlanhan cek*) or found it 'challenging' (*himtuen cek*) to live with their daughters-in-law, which often functions as to elicit anecdotes about incompatible cultural practices due to 'otherness' of their daughters-in-law. In the following example, the male emcee asks one father-in-law about an anecdote that happened due to cultural difference on stage (Episode 136: September 9, 2008):

MC: **kulayto sicipsali-i-ntey:** **mwunhwa chai** **ttaymwuney**
 though patrilocality-be-but culture difference because of

cokum konlanha-n cem-to iss-ess-ul kes
 little awkward-RL.PRE aspect-also exist-PST-RL.FUT thing

kath-untey. (.) apenim ette-sy-ess-eyo.
 seem-but father.HON behow-HON-POL
 ((To father-in-law)) *But it's still patrilocality, I suppose*
 there have been awkward moments because of cultural difference,
 how was it for you?

FIL: **a yey (.2) cheum-ey wa kaciko camos palamulo mak sinay-lul**
 DM yes.POL first-at come and pajamas wearing just downtown-OBJ

mak tani-lyeko cey-ka hankwuk-un an kule-ntey:
 just walk around-intend to I.HUM-SUB Kroea-TOP not be so-but

ku nala-nun eti tewu-n nala-la kaciko: kule-nka
 that country-TOP where hot-RL.PRE country-because be so-INT.PLN
*Uh yes. At first when she came here, she'd just walk around in
 her pajamas in downtown, and I thought is it because Vietnam is a
 warm country while it's not like that in Korea...*

By framing such interviews through emcees and VJs, the producers give voices to Korean in-laws and husbands to discuss incompatible cultural practices and perspectives they encounter as multicultural families. In the example, the father-in-law attributes the dressing habit of his daughter-in-law to her national identity as Vietnamese and portrays it as ‘awkward’ and challenging to understand from his perspective which is framed as a representative of Koreans. On the other hand, they never ask the women to evaluate the culture of their husband’s family. Instead, the producers ask the women about their Korean language learning or cooking skills in most of the episodes. In spite of issues that indicate lack of multiculturalism including racism, absence of intercultural awareness among Koreans, discrimination against marriage immigrant women, and even violence, the producers of the show neither foreground the marginalization of immigrant women nor raise questions of alternative ideologies of pluralism. If the issues are mentioned on the show, it is constructed as closing remarks of emcees in a couple of sentences that generally call for tolerance (*kwanyong*) and understanding (*ihay*) of us (*wuli*), Koreans with no further discussion of them.

The analyses in this section show that the discourse in *love in Asia* on immigrant women reinforces integrationist via assimilation and one nation-one language ideologies as do the policy discourse. As discussed above, the emphases are on immigrants’ assimilation to the host society for the sake of their own happiness as well as the society as a whole. That is, immigrant women are discursively positioned as responsible for their happiness in Korea through their learning of

Korean culture, language, and food to successfully adapt to ideologically Korean ways of living. At the same time, failure to assimilate is portrayed as the cause of conflicts and hardships immigrants encounter in Korea, and learning Korean culture and language is represented as a resolution. In so doing, other crucial issues that hinder their adaptation and settlement in a new country such as socioeconomic inequality and racist discrimination are omitted from the discourse. In sum, the show represents marriage immigrant women as novice members, ‘others,’ to be taught, assisted, and eventually integrated into Korean society.

6.2. Gendered Positioning as Wives, Daughters-in-law, Moms

The discourse of integration in *Love in Asia* emphasizes on integration of the women into not only Korean society but also the husband’s family, which indicates the gendered nature of their KSL learning and socialization. Their gendered positions as immigrant women, distinct from immigrant men (Gordon, 2004; Pavlenko, 2001), are also marked through language that focuses on their gendered identities as wives, daughters-in-law, mothers, and daughters, accompanied with other Korean terminologies that refer to married women (*acwumma*, *saytayk*, *sallimkkwun*, etc.). Also adopting Fairclough’s (1989, 1992) analytical frameworks of CDA, this section continues to microanalyze the language use (e.g., vocabulary use, grammar such as clause construction, subject-verb association, agency, and modality) to investigate how the women themselves and others position them with gendered identities. The analyses also include the texts that emphasize the love of ‘family’ (*kacok*) and locate women’s happiness in the domain of family, considering their presence in Korea tends to be justified by highlighting their familial roles in policy and media discourses of Korea.

Table 5 shows the vocabulary items that explicitly position women with gendered identities and clear examples of the most common modifiers (e.g., adjective, relative clause, etc.) that describe their gendered identities. The complete list of adjectives said by others to evaluate women is shown in Table 6. Longer phrasal and clausal constructions that describe women's daily lives also foreground their gendered familial duties even though they may be more implicit, and they are summarized in Table 7 according to the gendered identities in each construction.

Table 5. Explicit Gendered Positioning as Reference

Gendered Positions	Numbers of Appearance	Variations	Most Commonly Associated Modifiers
Wife (230)	185	<i>anay</i> (wife)	(NR)
	11	<i>cipsalam</i> (house person)	himtun naysayk han pen ha-ci anh-nun tired show one time do-not-RL 'Who never shows she's tired'
	10	<i>waipu</i> (wife)	
	10	<i>pwuin</i> ((other's) wife)	na-lul peynhwasikhi-n I.INT-OBJ change-RL.PST 'Who changed me'
	8	<i>ansalam</i> ¹⁵ (inside person)	alttulha-n frugal-RL 'Frugal'
	3	<i>sayksi</i> (newly married woman)	na-man mit-ko ttalao-n I.INT-only trust-and followed 'Who only trusted and followed me'
	1	<i>kaksi</i> (wife)	
	2	<i>sinpwu</i> (bride)	
Daughter-in-law (108)	96	<i>myenuli</i> (daughter-in-law)	(NR) ttal kath-un 'Daughter-like'
	2	<i>aka</i> (baby) - addressing	salangpat-nun 'Loved'
	1	<i>hyopwu</i> (devoted daughter-in-law)	hankwuk myenuli-ka Korean daughter-in-law-SUB toy-ki wihay become-in order to 'to become a Korean daughter-in-law'
	9	<i>ttal</i> (daughter)	

¹⁵ *ansalam* is a compound noun combined with a noun *an* (inside) and a noun *salam* (person), to refer to one's own wife in a humble way to others. The antonym is *pakkatsalam*, which means outside (*pakkat*) person (*salam*) to refer one's husband in a humble way to others.

		<i>Emma</i>	
Mom (94)	20	Addressing term	[children's name + emma] minji emma, unchongi emma, etc.
	10	Self-positioning	ay emma-nikka: emma-nun hankwukmal kid mom-because mom-TOP Korean cal mos ha-myen an toy-yo well cannot do-if not okay-POL 'Because I'm a mom, mom shouldn't be bad at Korean.'
	64	Other-positioning	emma-lose 'As a mom'
			(NR)
Daughter	102	<i>Ttal</i>	melli sicip ka-n far husbands house go-RL.PST 'Who married to a man far away'
			chakha-n ttal-i-ess-ta good-hearted daughter-be-PST-DL.PLN 'who was a good daughter'

The table shows the most frequently marked gendered identities of marriage immigrant women on the show. Resonating with their gendered positioning in the policy as caregivers for families in Korea and child bearers to succeed patrilineal Korean families, representations of their gendered identities on the show emphasizes their gender roles in the domain of family. Specifically, variations of the word 'wife' were the most frequently referred position, especially by the narrator, husbands, and emcees. The second most frequent gendered positioning was 'daughter-in-law' (*myenuli*), followed by 'mom' (*emma*). While identities as a wife and a daughter-in-law are extensively elaborated with adjectives (see Table 6), relative clauses, and the subject-predicate association, their identity as a 'mom' (*emma*) mostly occurs without modifiers; instead, it occurs as the subject or the object in narrators' descriptions of their daily routines, as addressing terms by families and neighbors, or as self-reference. In Korea, people often identify women with children as 'someone's mom' (e.g., 'Eunchong's mom' (*unchong-i emma*), 'Minjeong's mom' (*minceng-i emma*), 'baby's mom' (*ayki emma*), etc.), implying the mainstream discourse that emphasizes the women's role as mothers. Women identified

themselves as a ‘mom’ the most frequently. Among the topics the women discussed in their self-quotes, their identity as a mom was the second most frequent following the topic of hardship and discrimination against them, followed by transnational aspects of their lives, self-positioning as a wife, discussion of their career goals, Korean language learning, and duties as a daughter-in-law (*myenuli*). Considering the gendered mainstream discourses on women that presumes most women desire to bear children, which may be similar in Vietnam and Korea, it is an easy identity they can claim to be treated as ‘normal’ in Korea. Also, they often associate their Korean language learning with their identities as mothers, which resonates with other studies of immigrant women’s second language learning (Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2000). The examples of the self-initiated association of their identities as mothers and motivation to learn Korean are as follows:

emma-nikka: emma-nun hankwuk-mal cal mos ha-myen: an toy-yo
 mom-because mom-TOP Korean-language well cannot do-if not okay-POL
‘Because I’m a mom, and mom shouldn’t be bad at Korean.’

hankwuk-mal cal ha-ko hanywuli-to cal kaluchi-ko siph-eyo
 Korean-language well do-and Hanywul-also well teach-want to-POL
‘I want to speak Korean well and teach my son well, too.’

cimini po-ko hankul kongpwu manh-i paywe-yo
 Jimin see-and Korean alphabet study a lot learn-POL
‘I study Korean hard thinking about my son, Jimin.’

Table 6 will demonstrate gender ideologies imposed on marriage immigrant women as a wife, a daughter-in-law, a mother, and a daughter through the adjectives and embedded clauses that are associated with these gendered identities as modifiers and evaluative comments in interviews and narrations on the show

Table 6. Evaluative Comments on Women's Gendered Identities

Adjectives	Korean	Modifiers			Comments Others' Evaluations	Total
		Wife	Daughter -in-law	Daughter		
Nice, Good- hearted	chakhata maum-i yeypputa	5	8	5	15	33
Never complaining, Supportive,	thuceng/pwulphye ng/himtun naysayk han pen epsta, him-ul cwuta	13	0	0	10	23
Smart, Bright	ttokttokhata ttak soli nata ttoswuni	1	2	4	13	20
Frugal, Thrifty,	alttulhata yamwucita	6	1	0	12	19
Acting cute	aykyo-ka manhta aykyo-ka nemchita	5	1	0	11	17
Well- rounded, Social, Loved, Popular	sengkyek johta cal cinayta salang patta inki mancem-ita	0	6	0	11	17
Joyful, Smiling, Positive	ywukhwayhata cal/nul ywusta palkta	0	3	0	11	14
Diligent, Hard- working	pwucilenhata sengsilhata chaksilhata	1	0	0	11	12
Amiable, Kind	ssakssakhata sangnyanghata	1	3	0	5	9
Husband- changing	nampyen-ul pyenhwasikhin	7	0	0	0	7
Bread- winner, Effective	saynghwallyek-i kanghata, il-ul cal hata	0	1	0	5	6
Polite, Courteous	yeyuy paluta insa-lul cal hanta	0	0	0	5	5
Considerate, Sacrificing	paylyehata nam-ul wihata	1	0	0	4	5
Young	elita chelpwuci	0	1	2	2	5

Women's gendered identities that are constructed by narrators, MCs, VJs, in-law families, neighbors, and friends, adjectives that emphasize pleasant and amiable qualities of women are deployed frequently: 'good-hearted' (*chakhata*), 'never-complaining' (*pwulphyen/thwuceng/himtun naysayk han pen epsta*), 'smart' (*ttokttokhata*), 'frugal' (*alttulhata*), 'cute-behaving' (*aykyo-ka manhta*), 'sociable' (*cal cinayta, sengkyek cohta*), 'joyful' (*ywukhwayhata, cal wusta*), 'diligent' (*pwucilenhata*), 'amiable' (*ssakssakhata*), 'good bread-winner' (*saynghwallyek-i kanghata*), 'polite' (*yeyuy paluta*), and so forth. In addition, the absence of any negative evaluations or the antonyms to the adjectives used is noticeable. They are never portrayed as mean, complaining, unintelligent, extravagant, curt, irritable, sad, angry, cold, impolite, or selfish in any contexts. In other words, the women are presented as unrealistically ideal, which resonates with findings in other gender research on patriarchal gender images of perfect women (Choi, 2009; Friedan, 1983).

In detail, as wives, they are mainly described as 'never complaining' or 'supportive,' followed by 'who changed husbands(me),' 'frugal,' 'good-hearted,' and 'cute-behaving,' reproducing the gender ideology of obedient wives who unconditionally support and follow their husbands. As daughters-in-law, they are by and large described as 'good-hearted,' 'sociable,' and 'loved,' which focuses on their obedient and amiable performances toward parents-in-law. When positioning them as daughters, on the other hand, significantly less adjectives are used to describe their qualities, and her family's yearn for the daughter who 'married away' (*sicip kan*) are foregrounded by deploying a word '*sicip kata*,' a gendered phrase that describes marriage as a woman marry and move in with her husband's family. By doing so, the women's migration to Korea after marriage is Koreanized as a natural cultural practice to the audience. In addition, their qualities as daughters are not a central concern for the media discourse, since their qualities

as daughters-in-law in Korea who can succeed and reproduce patrilineal Korean family lines are more important than who they 'were' to their own family as daughters before marriage in Vietnam. Another interesting use of the word *ttal* (daughter) in the text is when it is used as a metaphor to emphasize in-law families' affection for their daughter-in-law, indicating their affection is strong enough to accept them as their daughters. In narrations and interviews, a simile '*ttal kath-un myenuri*' (daughter-like daughter-in-law) is also used to highlight the close and affectionate relationship between parents-in-law and daughters-in-law. In such metaphors and similes, the traditionally othered position of daughters-in-law in the husband's patriarchal family is reflected, in that they are excluded from the blood-tied family unless accepted and marked as a family member by the family members. Considering immigrant women are marginalized in the family both as a daughter-in-law and as an immigrant, it is somewhat remarkable that they are represented as "accepted" to be treated like real daughters. The institutional context of television show plays an important role in understanding such welcoming representations that have discrepancy with other discourses on the show regarding conflict, violence, and discrimination that immigrant women frequently discussed. People tend to represent themselves in the most positive light when they are on a television show; therefore, the in-laws' representations of the migrant wives are surely more positive in these cases compared to 'real life'.

Lastly, in answering interview questions about qualities of the women, their acquaintances in Korea are positioned as witnesses to testify to the women's contributions to Korea. Their evaluations are also limited to positive terms: 'good-hearted,' 'smart,' 'frugal,' 'sociable,' 'joyful,' and 'diligent'. Such comments are mostly constructed by Korean people around them including in-law families, husbands, neighbors, and supervisors at work, as a device

to legitimize women's presence in Korea through voices of Koreans. There are occasional evaluations from other transnational women who are either friends or coworkers. In their evaluations, 'nice' and 'sociable' are still some of the most common adjectives used as compliments along with 'pretty'. They also often compliment on the women's ability to work effectively while their positions as wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law are absent in that context. The story-telling of the show, however, backgrounds such evaluations as supplementary to highlight marriage immigrant women's positive personality qualities, and the focus shifts back to their home. The story-telling ends with their identities within the family, and on-stage interviews about their happy family life follow. The presence of marriage immigrant women is thus being legitimized and justified by Koreans' discursive foregrounding of the women's contribution to maintaining patriarchally descended Korean families as obedient and adjustable females to become ideologically Korean wives, daughters-in-law, and mothers, who also are capable of economically contributing to the society.

Table 7 below illustrates clear examples of more elaborated descriptive and evaluative comments that also imply gender ideologies. Comments examined here include those that evaluate the women in relation to familial duties and those that define women's happiness inside family. I also included comments with the word 'family' that define their presence and happiness within the domain of family, given that emphasizing women's presence in her family also reinforces patriarchal gender ideologies by placing them in private sector of the society.

Table 7. Descriptions of Gender Roles

Positions (Total 332)	Agent	Examples
Daughter- in-law 45% (150)	Other	(NR) ithul-ey han pen sitayk-ul chass-nun.ta two day-per one time in-law's.HON-OBJ visit-DL.PLN 'She visits her in-law's every other day.'
		(H) wuli sikkwu-tul-hanthey cal ha-ko our family-PL-to well do-and 'She's good to my families and'
		(NEI) mopem-i-eyyo sangnyangha-ko siemeni role model-be-POL kind-and mother-in-law cal mosi-ko well take care of-and 'She's a role model. She's kind and takes care of her mother-in-law well.'
	Self	emma appa cal mosi-ko cal sal-ko siph-eyo mom dad well care-and well live-want to-POL 'I want to take care of mom and dad (parents-in-law) and live well.'
Wife 18% (61)	Other	(NR) ilccik chwulkunha-nun namphyen-uy siksa early go to work-RL husband-of meal cwunpi-lo pwuncwuha-ta preparation-with busy-DL.PLN 'She's busy preparing meals for her husband who goes to work early.'
		namphyen-uy salang tek-ey hankwuk saynghwal-un husband-of love due to Korea life-TOP talkhomha-ta sweet-DL.PLN 'Her Korean life is sweet due to her husband's love.'
		(H) ce-hanthey ha-nun ke (.) caki huysaynggha-myense I.HUM-to do-RL thing self sacrifice-while 'She takes care of me while sacrificing herself.'
	Self	namphyen pap-ul chalye cwu-ko ilen kes-to husband meal-OBJ fix-BEN-and this thing-also hayngpokhay-yo happy-POL 'Fixing meals for my husband and such also make me happy.'

		<p>(NR)</p> <p>siktang-ul ha-n.ta-ko twu ai khiwu-nun restaurant-OBJ do-DL.PLN-QT two kid raise-RL il-ul soholhi ha-l swu-nun eps-ta work-OBJ carelessly do-cannot-DL.PLN <i>'She can't care less about raising two children only because she runs a restaurant.'</i></p> <p>(MC)</p> <p>((To H)) atul seys nah-a cwu-kwu, >hangsang< son three bore-BEN-and always komawu-si-keyss-eyo thankful-HON-guess-POL <i>'You must always feel thankful, she gave 3 sons.'</i></p> <p>(MIL) ((Making up after fighting)) way silheha-keyss-e. ayki ippu-key celehkey why hate-guess-INT baby pretty-ADV like that nah-a cw-ess-nuntey bore-BEN-PST-but <i>'Why would I hate you? You gave birth to that pretty baby for us.'</i></p>
Mother	Other	
16% (54)		
	Self	<p>ay-tul po-myen pap an mek-eto pay kid-PL see-if meal not eat-even if stomach pwul-leyo full-POL <i>'I'm full even without eating when I see my kids.'</i></p>
In Family	Other	<p>(NR)</p> <p>kacok-uy phwungsengha-n salang an-eyse hayngpok-i family-of rich-RL love inside happiness-SUB yenggul-e ka-nta ripe-going-DL.PLN <i>'Inside the rich love of family, her happiness is riping.'</i></p>
9% (29)	Self	<p>nampyen hako ayki hako ilehkey hayngpokhay-yo husband with baby with like this happy-POL <i>'I'm happy like this with my husband and my baby.'</i></p>
Good at cooking Korean food	Other	<p>(NR)</p> <p>umsik somssi-ka coh-ase mwetun ci ttwukttak food skill-SUB good-so anything blink of an eye mantul-e nay-n.ta make-manage to-DL.PLN <i>'She cooks well, so she makes anything in a blink of an eye.'</i></p>
6% (20)		
Housewife (cwupwu, sallimkkun)	Other	<p>(NR)</p> <p>swucwup-te-n mosup-un salaci-ko ekcheksule-wun shy-RET-RL image-TOP disappear-and tough-RL cwupwu-ka toy-n housewife-SUB became-RL <i>'Who lost shyness and became a tough housewife'</i></p>
5% (18)		

Bride, married woman (<i>saytak, tayk</i>) 3% (9)	Other	(NR) sumwul sey sal eli-n saytayk twenty three year-old young new wife 'A 23-year-old young new bride/wife'
		(NEI) welnam-tayk-i ywumyengha-ntey mwe Vietnam-wife-SUB famous-but DM '(Of course I know her) the Vietnamese wife is famous (in the neighborhood)'

In Table 5, the number of explicit positioning of marriage immigrant women as 'daughter-in-law' (*myenuli*) was similar to that of 'daughter' (*ttal*). However, the gap becomes significant when considering the more implicit yet elaborated descriptions of their daily lives and others' evaluation about the women. Counting narrative descriptions of daily practices and evaluations by others, their identity as *myenuli* comes close to the most frequent positioning, a wife. Interestingly, while the majority of their identity as a wife comes from explicit labeling as reference and addressing, their identity as a daughter-in-law is similarly distributed between explicit labeling and implicit elaborative constructions. Their contribution as daughters-in-law is by and large the most frequently foregrounded portrayals in narration and compliments in interviews, in which the in-law kinship terms such as father-in-law, mother-in-law, parents-in-law appear more frequently than other relationship terms with regard to their daily lives in Korea. In addition, the narrator often mentions the women 'visit in-law's house often,' 'make food for parents-in-law,' and 'used to live/lives with parents-in-law' in the introductory documentary. To expand on this point, husbands are asked to provide their perspectives and feelings about their wives' devotion to his parents, and they mostly express gratitude about their wives.

Unlike descriptions of women's transnational identities that are shown through their appreciation of Vietnamese and other foods, friends, and languages, even though they are

constructed as marking them as ‘others,’ such transnational selves are eliminated in the representations of their gendered identities and even discouraged by in-law members when they are positioned as wives and daughters-in-law. Regarding their obligations as ‘the woman’ of a family, their transnational spaces are strictly constrained by their Korean family members, for not only does it mark them as ‘foreign’ but it also conflicts with traditional gender identities expected of married women. Their gendered identities thus seem to be where integrationist worldviews synergize with patriarchal gender ideologies of Korea. They are expected to cook Korean food and speak the Korean language as quickly as possible to successfully become ideologically desirable Korean daughters-in-law. This is also discussed in Han’s (2006) survey in which food was reported as one of the most challenging aspects of marriage immigrant women’s adaptation as they suddenly have to change their ways of living upon their arrival in Korea. According to the respondents, husbands and in-law families refuse Vietnamese food and assert women learn to cook Korean food from their mother-in-law as soon as possible, which is also problematized by one of the women on the show in Table 4 (‘(Koreans) ask to unconditionally obey because I’m from a foreign country’ (*oykwuk-eyse wasstako mwucoken swuncongha-lako*)). Instead of creating space to discuss gender ideologies and power asymmetry in family relations, the producers of the show focus on highlighting Korean’s acknowledgement and approval of migrant wives who are described as ‘better than Korean women’ and a ‘role model in Korea’ when they perform such gendered identities successfully. In addition, women’s struggle with gender ideologies and expectations of them to become an ideologically perfect Korean daughter-in-law are framed as natural process of learning. For example, they are portrayed as being ‘scolded’ (*honnata, honnayta*) by parents-in-law, positioning them as less of an adult who needs

to learn. VJ's elicit parents-in-law to share stories of scolding them as fun anecdotes. The following excerpt is extracted from the episode 245, which was aired on November 9, 2010.

SIL: **peythunam-eyse sicip wa kaciko sa nyen man-ey**
Vietnam-from husband's family come and then four year only-in

ilehkey ta ha-n.ta-nun ke-nun cincca cal ha-nun
like this all do-PLN.DC-RL.PRE thing-TOP really well do-RL.PRE

ke-ya wuli.nala yeca-tul-to ilehkey mos hay
thing-be.INT our country woman-PL-also like this cannot do.INT

na-n kuke incenghay cengmallo. cengmal ippu-n
I.PLN-TOP that approve.INT really really pretty-RL.PRE

myenuli-ya emma. nay-ka sicip ka po-nikka,
DIL-be.INT mom I.PLN-SUB husband's family go see-because

kuke incengha-y cwe-ya tway. nay ttalita: sayngkakha-ko
that approve-for her-must.INT my.PLN dauther-be think-and

ha-y cwe.

do-for her.

Doing all these only in 4 years after marrying into the husband's family from Vietnam is really good. Even our Korean women cannot do this like she does. I acknowledge that. She's a really good daughter-in-law, mom. After I got married, we should acknowledge that. Think of her as your daughter and be good to her.

VJ: myenuli hon nay-n cek iss-usey-yo?
DIL scold-RL.PST time exist-HON-POL
Have you ever scolded your daughter-in-law?

FIL: mwe-lako ha-n cek eps-ci: achim-ey com
what-QT do-RL.PST time not exist-SUP morning-in a bit
ilccik ilena-ss-umyen ha-nun ke ppayko-nun.
early get up-PST-if do-RL.PRE thing except for-TOP
Never scolded. Except for that I wish she would wake up a little early in the morning.

MIL: mwe-lako ha-n cek-un eps-ci ayki nah-ko
what-QT do-RL.PST time-TOP not exist-SUP baby bare-and

khiw-unikka ihay-lul hay.
raise-because understanding-OBJ do.INT

SIL: apenim: ay-tul khu-ko na-myen ilccik ilena-lkey-yo hay:
father.HON kid-PL raise-finish-if early wake up-will-POL do.INT

While the parents-in-law are working in their green house, the daughter-in-law Vu delivers lunch. The husband's sister compliments on Vu's performance as a daughter-in-law,

which exceeds the standard for Korean women, to the mother. Taking up from the sister-in-law's positive evaluation of Vu, the VJ asks parents-in-law whether they have scolded her. They both briefly deny their scolding the daughter-in-law. The father-in-law, however, continues his answer by expressing his wish that Vu wakes up early in the morning. The mother-in-law justifies it by Vu's focus on raising children. Their denial of scolding Vu is somewhat doubtful given the father's immediate follow-up of a demands and their daughter's request to the mother to treat Vu as well as she treats her own daughter, indicating the 'real life' may differ from how in-laws evaluate the women to on TV. The sister-in-law also commends Vu to promise to wake up early after raising her daughter. The example demonstrates how the discourses on the show are framed to reinforce patriarchal gender ideologies on women to be obedient, taught, and integrated into the husband's family. Another important aspect to bear in mind is regional contexts: migrant wives in rural areas tend to live with parents-in-law and are constantly exposed to more conservative gender ideologies. Episodes with women in rural areas portrayed more interactions in which in-laws explicitly reinforced gender ideologies, which were similar to the example. In the cases of migrant wives, it also implies elimination of their hybrid transnational identities (Lee, 2006). In a similar vein, while their daughters-in-law identity is extensively elaborated from diverse angles, describing them as daughters is limited to her families' happiness and tears to see her, their concerns about her life far from home, her hardworking past life to support the family in Vietnam before marriage, or her Korean in-laws' expressing gratitude for sending the daughter. The framing of the show, therefore, foregrounds their gendered identities in their husband's families after marriage and backgrounds their identities in their own families in Vietnam.

Besides as daughters-in-law, their identity as a wife is another frequently portrayed part of their lives: making breakfast early in the morning every day, making lunch boxes, seeing their husbands off to work, in addition to managing house chores including taking care of children and parents-in-law. This continues in their self-construction of finding happiness with husband and children in Korea, which is elicited by the emcees at the end of each episode. The word ‘family’ (*kacok*) and the chunk of ‘husband and children’ (*namphyen hako ayki*) are used in discursively defining their happiness in life. In such narrations, the narration is often voiced as women’s first person narratives (‘I am a happy woman. I have a kind husband and a smart son’ (*na-nun i seysang-eyse kacang hayngpokha-n yeca-i-pnita chakha-n namphyen iss-ko-yo ttoktokha-n atul-to iss-ta-pnita*), ‘My family is more important than anything in the world’ (*seysang mwues pota socwungha-n kacok-i-pnita*), etc.), borrowing women’s voices to legitimize the patriarchy-influenced ideologies to find women’s places in the house. They represent themselves as happy to support and sacrifice for her family.

Gendered positioning of marriage immigrant women on *Love in Asia*, therefore, reinforces the patriarchal gender ideology on marriage immigrant women in media (Lee, 2009; Yang, 2007). This aligns with political discourses in Korea that favor female marriage immigrants in comparison to male immigrant workers due to the nationalistic agenda to succeed patrilineal Korean bloodline and to resolve gender imbalance in marriage market and low birth rate (Lim, 2010). In other words, Korean media discourses legitimize immigrant women’s presence in Korea by foregrounding such gendered contributions of the women to Korean society and eventually reinforce the patriarchal ideologies of political discourses. In sum, Korean media discourses perpetuate patriarchal gender ideologies by foregrounding marriage immigrant women’s gendered identities who are anticipated to “assure traditional gender roles by

producing, raising, and caring for children and other family members and devoting themselves to household tasks” (Kim; 2012, p. 552) and eliminated transnational identities of the women.

6.3. Representations of Vietnam

The strong imposition of patriarchal gender ideologies on marriage immigrant women can be better understood in the context of neo-liberal globalization of female labor, and discourses circulate and reproduce the patriarchal social order of Korea (Lee, 2006). To this end, Kim (2012) discussed the *feminization* of global migration and economic trades in the context of South Korea and Vietnam in discussing the phenomenon of ‘international marriage,’ mainly referring to marriages arranged by agencies and brokers. Regarding the phenomenon, Seol, Lee, and Cho (2006) reported approximately 82 percent of the Vietnamese marriage immigrant women in Korea came from rural areas of Vietnam while only 49 percent of marriage immigrant women from other countries come from rural areas in their home countries. Several surveys also revealed the majority of Vietnamese marriage immigrant women are from poor families with limited education in rural Mekong River Delta region, and some of them worked as low-wage factory workers or farmers in Vietnam before marriage (Belanger & Linh, 2011; Kim, 2007; Seol *et al.*, 2006). Regarding the matter, Belanger and Linh (2011) also discussed monetary compensation for the bride’s family in the international marriage between the two countries and report nearly 90 percent of the 276 marriage immigrant women in the study are from the poorer and less powerful region of Vietnam send remittance to their family in Vietnam.

6.3.1. Portrayal of “poor” Vietnam

Reflecting the statistics and reinforcing the images of marriage immigrant women who were bought into Korea, the majority of Vietnamese women who appeared in *Love in Asia* come

from Mekong River Delta and rural areas of Vietnam: the largest group came from Hai Phong, ‘a northern industrial harbor city,’ the second group was generally described as from ‘a town located a couple of hours from Ho Chi Minh’. Next were Cà Mau and Cần Thơ, located in the Mekong River Delta region. In total, approximately 42 percent of the women on the show are from the rural areas in the Mekong Delta region.

Table 8 below illustrates commonly used descriptive and evaluative comments about women’s hometowns in Vietnam that imply poverty. The representations of the listed places in Vietnam are delivered by the narrator as an introduction to the women’s hometown, family, and past lives in Vietnam in the documentary portion of the show that follows women’s journey to visit their family with husband and children. It is also noteworthy that the descriptions are constituted through narrators’ voice, not the women themselves. This echoes with Yang’s (2007) discussion that media discourse rarely gives voices to immigrant women as agents to represent themselves unless they are framed as reactors or witnesses. When the narrator only provided general description of the area without a specific name, I categorized them together based on the region. The most commonly represented Mekong Delta Region is bolded in the table.

Table 8. Poverty-Implying Comments of Women’s Hometowns in Vietnam

Name of Hometown	Appearance (Total 57)	Comments
Hai Phong (Northern)	9	<p>mwul-i kwiha-n peythunam-eyse-nun water-SUB scarce-RL Vietnam-in-TOP ‘In Vietnam where water is scarce’</p> <p>wuli-eykey-nun chwuek-uy mwulken-i us-to-TOP memory-of object-SUB toy-n tonglyek-sik thalkokki become-RL.PST power type thresher ‘A power type thresher that has become an object of the past to us’</p>
No Specific Name: 2~3 hours from	7	<p>maynpal-lo cwu-lo tani-nun peythunam barefoot-by usually go-RL Vietnam aitul-ul wihay chayngkyetwu-n sinpal</p>

Ho Chi Minh by car or near Mekong River	(1 Mekong)	kids-OBJ for set aside-RL.PST shoes 'Shoes (she) has set aside for Vietnamese kids who usually walk around barefoot'
Cà Mau (Includes Phú Tân, Sông Đốc; Southernmost, Mekong Delta)	6	maul-ey swuto-ka tuleo-ci anh-a town-to water pipe-SUB come in-not-so pismwul-i sikswu-lo sayongtoyko rain-SUB drinking water-as used 'Rain drops are used as drinking water because water pipes are not installed in the town.'
Cần Thơ (Includes Long Xuyên; Southern, Mekong Delta)	5	cayen-ey swunungha-mye sal-ko iss.ta nature-to obey-while live-PRO-DL.PLN '(People) are live as obeying to the nature.'
No Specific Name: 2~3 hours from Hanoi	4	kohyang cip-un machi cak-un hometown house-TOP like small-RL tongmwulwen kat-ta zoo same-DL.PLN 'Her hometown house is like a small zoo.'
Kiên Giang (Includes Vĩnh Thuận; Mekong Delta)	3	
Long An (Mekong Delta)	2	maul salamtul taypwupwun-i nongsacis-nun town people most-SUB to fram-RL.PRE cak-un sikol maul small-RL rural town 'A small rural town most residents're farmers'
An Giang (Includes Tân Châu; Mekong Delta)	2	
Hau Giang (Includes Vị Thanh; Mekong Delta)	2	kang-ul thecen sam-a kang-i river-OBJ base make-then river-SUB peyphwu-n phwungyolo-wun kwasiltul-lo give-RL.PST abundant-RL fruits-with haluhalu-lul ilkweka-nun salamtul everyday-OBJ make-RL people 'People who make the river their base and live with bases abundant fruits river gave them'
Ho Chi Minh City (Southern)	2	kechi-l ket eps-i aph-ulo naaka-nun without obstacles forward progress-RL peythunam-uy onul-ul poyecwu-n.ta Vietnam-of today-OBJ show-DL.PLN '(Lively streets) show today's Vietnam that is progressing with smoothly.'
Hanoi (Northern)	2	peythunam-uy swuto 'The capital of Vietnam'
Tra Vinh (Mekong Delta)	1	cha-ka tuleka-l swu eps-nun kos car-SUB enter-cannot-RL.PRE place 'Where cars cannot enter (any more)'

Bạc Liêu (Mekong Delta)	1	pyenpyenhi kil-to na iss-ci anh-un properly road-also opened-not-RL piphocang tolo-lul talliki-lul twu sikan unpaved road-OBJ running-OBJ two hours <i>'2 hours of driving the unpaved road that is not even properly made for cars'</i>
Mỹ Tho (Mekong Delta)	1	
Vũng Tàu (Southeast of Ho Chi Minh)	1	peythunam cencayng tangsi mikwun-kwa Vietnam war during U.S. army-and hankwuk-kwun-uy hywuyangci Korea-army-of vacation destination <i>'Vacation destination for the U.S. and Korean armies during the Vietnamese War'</i>
Đồng Nai (Outside Ho Chi Minh)	1	kutul-man-uy pangsik-ul ieka-mye they-only-of way-OBJ continue-while sopakha-key salaka-ko iss-supnita simple-ly live-PRO-DL.DEF <i>'They are living simply by continuing their own ways.'</i>
Tây Ninh (Northwest of Ho Chi Minh)	1	mokchwuk-kwa nongsa-lul sayngep sam-a livestock-and farming-OBJ living make pacilenhi salaka-nun salamtul-i iss-nun diligently live-RL people-SUB be-RL <i>'With people who live diligently by farming rice and livestock'</i> cayen-uy hyeythayk-ey kamsaha-mye sopakha-n nature-of benefit-to thank-while simple-RL salm-ul kkwulyeka-ko iss-ta life-OBJ make-PRO-DL.PLN <i>'(People) are living simple lives with gratitude to benefits of the nature.'</i>
Quảng Yên (North of Hạ Long)	1	
Hải Dương (Northwest of Hanoi)	1	
Hạ Long Bay (Northern)	1	alumta-wun seykyey cayen ywusan beautiful-RL world nature heritage
Phủ Lý (Southeast of Hanoi)	1	taypwupwun pyenongsa-lul cis-nun.ta mostly rice farming-OBJ farm-DL.PLN <i>'(People) mostly farm rice.'</i>
Qui Nhơn (Mid Vietnam)	1	peythunam cwungang-ey wichiha-n hangkwu tosi Vietnam middle-in located port city <i>'A port city located mid-Vietnam'</i>
Sa Pa (Border with China)	1	cwungkwuk kwukkyeng sanak maul China border mountain town
No specific name or region	1	ssal-nongsa cis-nun cenhyengcek-in peythunam rice-farm-RL typical-RL Vietnam nongchon maul farm village town <i>'A typical agricultural town of Vietnam where people farm rice'</i>

Bold = Mekong Delta Region: 42% (24)

The discursive description of women's hometowns in Vietnam, constructed through the voice of a Korean narrator, by and large marks their otherness from Korea through emphasizing their underdeveloped economy and poverty. Lee (2006) pointed out that the media discourses on immigrants internalize the orientalism of the West in viewing other parts of Asia and imitate the Western media discourses on 'others' that use naturalization, binary opposition, and reduction (Hall, 1977). First of all, the journey to their home in Vietnam is portrayed as 'long' (*kin yeceng*) and challenging with driving on 'unpaved roads' (*piphocang tolo*) or having to transfer by 'a boat' (*pay-lul tha-ko*) for 'hours,' emphasized by the particle *-ina* that expresses a speaker's perspectives on viewing the given amount more than enough. When the journey finally ends in their hometown, it is mostly a farm village (*nongchon maul*). Such depiction of a long and tiring journey sets up the forthcoming description of Vietnam by highlighting their 'otherness' for the audience. Although some of the women live on farms in Korea, which may situate them in similar regional and social contexts in Korea, the focus is on comparing the infrastructure and conditions of the two countries, including rural areas of Vietnam vs. Korean. Emphasizing unpaved dirt roads, paths that are not even adequate roads for automobiles, and tiny boats that are the only available transportation, therefore, functions to contrast economic status of the women's economically undeveloped home country with their husband's economically advanced country. After their arrival, the introduction of the places follows in which the process of naturalization is frequently used by describing people living in the destination as close to the nature (e.g., 'as obeying the nature,' 'making the river their living base,' 'with abundant fruits that nature gave them,' 'with benefits of the nature,' 'the house is like a small zoo'), simple ('living a simple life,' 'living simply'), and hardworking ('diligently'). In addition, they reduce Vietnam to a single image of 'poor' by generalizing the poverty they see to the whole nation: 'in

Vietnam where water is scarce,’ ‘Vietnamese kids who usually walk around barefoot,’ ‘In Korea there are shoe closets but not in Vietnam’. Considering the fact that most of the women on the show are from poor families and regions of Vietnam, such generalization presents a monolithic representation of Vietnam to the audience in Korea. Moreover, such representation fails to acknowledge the role that poverty plays in marriage migration, as discussed in Kim (2007), as middle or upper class Vietnamese women are less likely to migrate for marriage. The participants of my dissertation also problematized such monolithic representation of Vietnam on the show. I discuss their interpretations in the next chapter.

As Lee (2009) discussed, such discursive representations of the women’s home in Vietnam and the binary of Vietnam versus Korea in parallel with marriage immigrant women versus Korean husbands reinforces the dispensational perspectives existing in elite discourses of Korea on immigrants. The exotic scenery of the nature and ‘simple’ lives that conform to nature is associated with poverty and under-development, and the struggle from it gets amplified as the story-telling progresses. The narrator tells women’s stories of sacrificing themselves for their family and overcoming extreme poverty in the discursive construction of the past before her marriage. Often, it shows her concern for her family’s financial struggle and health problems as ongoing struggle they have in their home country. By doing so, the story-telling reinforces the marginalized positioning of marriage immigrant women in Korea, in Vietnam, and in the context of globalization and implicitly constitutes their assimilation to the ‘Korean-ness’ as unquestionable and favorable for the women themselves. These discursive constructions that foreground the extreme poverty of the women’s families in Vietnam that led them to pursue a better life through marriage migration, therefore, portray them as victims of poverty who are

worthy of ‘our’ sympathy. The following Table 9 shows clear examples of how the representations of the show associate women’s lives in Vietnam with poverty and struggle.

Table 9. Descriptions of Women’s Struggling Lives in Vietnam

Topics	Episodes (Total 57)	Examples
Circumstances	Poor 26	(NR) chekascip-uy yelakha-n mosup-un chanhuy wife’s house-of poor-RL image-TOP Chanhee ssi-eykey chwungkyek-i-ess-ta HON-to shock-be-PST-DL.PLN <i>‘The extremely poor condition of his wife’s house was a shock to Chanhee.’</i>
		kananhay-ss-te-n sice1 monye-nun poor-PST-RET-RL time mother and daughter-TOP kacok-uy saynkyey-lul chaykimcye-ya hay-ss-ta family-of living-OBJ take care of-must-PST-DL.PLN <i>‘When they were poor, mother and daughter had to take care of the family’s living.’</i>
		(H) cip patak-i ta hulk-ieyo house floor-SUB all dirt-be.POL <i>‘Floor of the house is all dirt (so we’re installing tiles today).’</i>
	Wealthy 1	(MC) cip-i cincca joh-ayo:: house-SUB really good-POL <i>‘It’s such a nice house!’</i>
Giving up Schooling	10	(NR) kananha-n cipan-eyse thayena nemwu-to ilccik poor-RL house-in born-so too-also early paywum-uy kil-ul cep-eya hay-ss-supnita learning-of way-OBJ fold-must-PST-DL.DEF <i>‘Born into a poor family, she had to give up the path of learning too early.’</i>
		(Self) kotunghakkyo ollaka-ya toy-nuntey ao cai kyopol-ul high school go up-have to-but ao zai uniform-OBJ sa-l ton-i eps-ess-eyo buy-RL.FUT money-SUB not have-PST-POL <i>‘I had to go to high school but didn’t have money to buy the ao zai school uniform.’</i>
Husbands’ Help		(NR) chanhuy ssi-uy towum-ulo pwumo-nim-un saylo-wun Chanhee HON-of help-with parents-HON-TOP new-RL

		cip-ulo isa-lul hay-ss-ciman hwankyeng-i house-to moving-OBJ do-PST-but circumstance-SUB ssek naaci-ci.n anh-ass-ta much improve-not-PST-DL.PLN <i>'Parents moved to a new house with Chanhee's (husband) help, but the circumstances didn't improve much.'</i>
		tongsayng kacok-i ponay cwu-n ton-ul younger sister family-SUB send-RL.PST money-OBJ hampwulo ssu-l swu eps-ess-ta thoughtlessly spend-cannot-PST-DL.PLN <i>'(They) couldn't thoughtlessly spend the money his younger sister's family sent.'</i>
		(Self) cip-ey wenlay nayngcangko eps-eyo, home-at originally refrigerator be not-POL namphyen-i nayngcangko senmwul sa cw-eyo husband-SUB refrigerator gift buy-BEN-POL <i>'There's no refrigerator at my parent's home. My husband's buying one for them.'</i>
Occupation of	13	Farming (Rice 7, Fruit 4, Vegetable 1, Livestock 1)
Women's	8	Fishing
Families	7	Merchants at markets (produce, clothes, seafood)
	3	Small restaurants (Pho, breakfast and juice)
	2	Repair (bicycle, fishing net)
	2	Rubber sap collecting
	2	Government employee (In Ho Chi Minh)
	1	Smith (At home)
	1	Cyclo driver
	18	Unspecified

I only included the episodes that explicitly comment on the living circumstances such as 'difficult circumstances' (*elewun heyngphyen*) or 'poor' (*kananhan, yelakhan*). The image shows women and their families' tears to be reunited, and interviews of family members to express their happiness to see the women follow. The following images are extracted from the show as examples of visual images accompanied with the representations of poverty in Vietnam.



Episode 431 (September 16, 2014): Cà Mau, Mekong Delta Region
With the husband's help, wife's family installed tiles on the dirt floor.



Episode 374 (July 23, 2013): Cần Thơ, Mekong Delta Region
Husband's family sent money to build a new house. During their visit, wives' family shows the older part of the house. The house used to be overflowed by water when it rained.



Episode 369 (June 18, 2013): Kiên Giang, Mekong Delta Region
She describes her past life in Vietnam. She quit schooling to make money and pay the debt her father left upon his death. She sold fish at a market with her mother.

Descriptions of their happy and loving home lives with their family, however, are absent both in the narration and interviews; instead, their financial struggle and hardworking life are foregrounded in the narrator's description of the women's home lives in Vietnam. These emphases on the poverty are accompanied with the story-telling of their having given up schooling to financially support the family, which foregrounds wives' sacrifice for family. The number of episodes that allude poverty of wives' family through describing husbands' help for the wives' families without explicitly calling them as 'poor' is higher than counted in the table. In describing their struggle with extreme poverty and sacrifice for the family, the narration positions Korean husbands as a savior, in that various constructions of poverty are often followed by the story-telling of husband's gift-giving and her family's gratitude to their son-in-law. Korean husbands are portrayed as a generous giver who buys 'expensive electronics' and even houses as a gift or a handy man who fixes 'old' (*nalkun*) houses of her parents'. While descriptions of happiness in wives' family is mostly absent, their happiness caused by their son-in-law's help is clearly portrayed through detailed description of what the husbands did in narration and interviews. The narration highlights husbands' gift-giving and help with improving the house as "generous dispensation" (Lee, 2009) which positions the husbands as a superior giver who provides goods for people in need out of his generosity. The next section analyzes discursive devices that are used to construct the representations of Vietnam and marriages between Vietnam and Korea.

6.3.2. CDA on representation of marriages between Vietnam and Korea

In this section, I linguistically analyze the discursive devices used in creating representations of 'poor Vietnam' and the monetary aspects of international marriages arranged by brokers with the frameworks of CDA. Specifically, I examine the most apparent strategy used

in relation to this topic: *omission*, and use of *euphemism*. Examining what is left unsaid through the use of euphemism or complete omission regarding marriage brokers and monetary aspects in these marriages will illustrate what the producers of *Love in Asia* and KBS, which is closely affiliated with the government, define as acceptable discourses to the Korean public.

As seen in Table 9, the monetary compensation and remittance from husbands or their family are euphemized as ‘pocket money’ (*yongton*), a monetary gift grown children in Korea give to parents which is viewed as favorable and natural, a gift (‘(husband’s family) gave a new house as a gift’: *say cip-ul senmwulhayssta*), or personal help (‘with Chanhee’s help, her parents could move to a new house, however’: *chanhuy ssi-uy towum-ulo pwumonim-un saylowun cipulo isa-lul hayss-ciman*), if it is mentioned on the show. More frequently, however, the monetary aspects of arranged marriages through brokers and agencies are omitted. For example, one of the women who grew up with her father after their parents’ divorce was reaching out to her mother after a long time or separation. In her video-recorded letter to her family that the program staff delivered to her home in Vietnam, her message to her mother, which was spoken in Vietnamese, is translated into Korean subtitles as ‘Mom, I will send money to you as well later when I work and make money’ (*cey-ka nacwung-ey il-ul hay-se ton pel-myen emeni-kkey-to ponay tulilkkeyyo*). This implies that the couple is currently sending remittance to her father; however, the narrator’s voice commenting on the family’s yearning for her presence and wishing for her happiness in Korea while the camera shows family members’ crying, which backgrounds her voice. The structure of the narration frames it as part of the love of family as it finishes the story by delivering her family’s messages with concerns and hopes for her life in Korea.

Similarly, Table 10 shows noticeable euphemisms used in describing the nature of marriages between Vietnamese women and Korean men who appear on the show throughout the

history of the show. The discursive constructions of euphemisms are divided in five categories: complete omission, specific reference of a matchmaker, replacement with traditional Korean words for arranged set up dates (*macsen*, *sokaything*), detailed elaboration of their love stories, and ambiguous reference of a marriage broker as an ‘acquaintance’ (*ciin*).

Table 10. Euphemisms for Marriage Arrangements

	Episodes (Total 57)	Examples
Omission	20 (35%)	
Specific Reference of a Matchmaker	11 (19%)	<p>(NR) hankwuk-ulo mence sicip o-n Korea-to first husband's house come-RL.PST tongsayng/eni/imo sokay younger/older sister/aunt introduction <i>'Introduced by a friend who married and came to Korea before her'</i></p> <p>peythunam-ey iss-nun hankwuk senkyosa-lul Vietnam-in be-RL Korean missionary-OBJ thonghay through <i>'Through a Korean missionary in Vietnam'</i></p> <p>(H) sachon hyeng-i peythunam-eyse cousin older brother-SUB Vietnam-in hoysa-lul ha-nuntey keki tani-nun akassi company-OBJ do-but there attend-RL miss <i>'(She was) a miss who worked at my cousin's company in Vietnam'</i></p>
Replacement with Traditional Korean Words:	10 (18%)	<p>(NR) sokaything-ulo manna-n set up date-by meet-RL.PST <i>'Met through a set-up date'</i></p> <p>macsen sokaything</p> <p>nongchon chongkak kwukcey kyelhon farm village bachelor international marriage ciwen saep kyengsangnamto taysangca support project S.Kyungsang Province recipient <i>'A recipient of the Farm-village Bachelor International Marriage Support Project in South Kyungsang Province'</i></p> <p>peythunam-eyse manna-n Vietnam-in meet-RL.PST <i>'Who met in Vietnam'</i></p>

		<p>(MC)</p> <p>sen po-le peythunam-kkaci set up date se-to Vietnam-to <i>'All the way to Vietnam for a set up date'</i></p>
Elaborated Love Story	8 (14%)	<p>(NR)</p> <p>cencihwunlyen-ul ka-ss-taka off-seasong training-OBJ go-PST-while khochi-wa hyenci kaitu-lo coach-and local guide-as <i>'As a soccer coach and a local guide during the off-season training in Vietnam'</i></p> <p>paynangyehayng ttena-ss-ul ttay backpacking trip leave-PST-RL time yehayng kaitu travel guide <i>'A travel guide when he went backpacking'</i></p> <p>(Self: On Stage)</p> <p>cheum-ey inthenes chaything manna-yo first-at Internet chatting meet-POL chil kaywel tongan chinkwu hay-ss-eyo seven months during friend do-PST-POL <i>'We first met through online chatting and stayed as friend for seven months.'</i></p> <p>(Former Coworker in Vietnam)</p> <p>ku namca-ka tasi chaca wa-ss-eyo that man-SUB again came looking for-PST-POL cwungmayca-to eps-nun yenay hitch maker-also not be-RL dating kyelhon-i-ess-eyo marriage-be-PST-POL <i>'(After he fell for her while traveling) he came back to see her. Their marriage was a romance that didn't even have a hitch maker.'</i></p>
Through an 'acquaintance'	8 (14%)	<p>(NR)</p> <p>ciin-uy sokay-lo acquaintance-of introduction-by <i>'Introduced by an acquaintance'</i></p>

The most frequently used discursive strategy in defining the nature of the marriages on the show is *omission*, taking up a third of all the episodes with women from Vietnam. Of particular interest is in the early episodes wherein the stories tend to be more romanticized regardless of the nature of the marriage. Except for the episodes that omitted the topic per se, unplanned and unarranged love stories that resulted in marriage were amplified with extensive elaboration on how they first met, how they felt in love, and what kinds of obstacles they

underwent to keep their love through dramatized story-telling and reenactment. Furthermore, arranged marriages were also romanticized by partial omission of the subject and the agent of ‘who’ arranged the marriage or ‘how’ they met in Vietnam by only mentioning where they met or when they met in the story (‘(the couple) who met in Vietnam’ (*peythunam-eyse mannan*), ‘an old bachelor who flew over the border in search of a lover’ (*nim-ul chac-a kwukkyeng-ul nem-un nochongkak*)) and mentioning the concept of love (e.g., ‘built love rapidly after their first meeting’ (*ches-mannam ihwu kupsokto-lo salang-ul khiwe kass-supnita*), ‘after lovey dovey dating for a year’ (*alkhong talkhong il nyen-uy yenay kkuth-ey*) or love at first sight (‘In short, I was just struck by her’ (*hanmati-lo hwak kkochoyess-supnita kunyang*) following the arrangement. The story, therefore, backgrounds the arrangement not only by omitting ‘by who,’ the agent, and ‘how’ of the arrangement but also by foregrounding love that grew from their first meeting until the marriage. On the contrary, the most recent episodes tend to briefly introduce their first meeting through an ambiguous phrase ‘through an acquaintance’ (*ciin-uy sokay-lo*) or ‘set up by (a specific person such as a friend or a family member)’ with no further elaboration.

Accordingly, while the early episodes focused more on the romantic story of their dating and journey to marriage, the later consist of more extensive description of their life after marriage and migration to Korea in in the introductory documentary. This consequently reduces the portion of women’s own stories and voices animated through the narrator’s voice and increases voices of other Koreans such as a third person narrator, in-law families, husbands, and neighbors.

The euphemism ‘acquaintance’ (*ciin*) started to appear more frequently in the recent episodes and replaced the romanticized use of a ‘set-up date’ (*macsen*) that were frequently used in the earlier episodes. On the contrary, when an actual acquaintance of theirs introduced them to each other, specific relationships between the matchmaker and the couple are provided such as a

‘cousin who has a company in Vietnam’ or ‘a friend (*tongsayng*, *enni*, *imo*) who came to Korea first’. When their relationship started as unplanned and romantic without a matchmaker, the show provides elaborated narrative description of their love stories. It is important to note that some marriages among Koreans are also arranged, which is shown in the specific Korean word used on the show *macsen*, an arranged date for a man and a woman whose purpose is to find a spouse and get married. Considering the central role that the wife identity of the women plays both for migrant wives and Korean wives in patriarchal discourses of Korea (Lee, 2010; Lee, 2013), othering migrant wives based on the arranged nature of their marriage posits asymmetrical worldviews on them in that arranged marriage is the same cultural practice some Korean women experience as well. This indicates the more significant distinction between migrant wives and Korean wives whose marriages were arranged attributes to another aspect of their marriages: monetary compensation in international marriage arrangement business, which is eliminated in the discourse of the show.

Explicit representations of the arranged international marriages that involve brokers and monetary compensations are omitted through a variety of discursive constructions as discussed above. At the end of the show, on the other hand, emcees make brief awareness-raising comments regarding ‘international marriage’ (*kwukcey kyelhon*) or ‘multicultural household/family’ (*tamwunhwa kaceng/kacok*) with warnings against illegal international marriage brokers or with information on new laws or regulations related to marriage brokers as well as marriage immigrants. These closing remarks acknowledge the significance of brokers, monetary exchange, and related policies on lives of marriage migrants who may share similarities with the migrant wives. Among the episodes that represent wives from the Mekong Delta region, which are the majority of all the episodes with Vietnamese women, approximately

half of them consist of either omission (nine out of twenty episodes) or specific reference of the matchmaker (seven episodes). With two episodes that briefly mention ‘acquaintance’ and three ‘set up date’ (*macsen*), half of the episodes with the women from the region tell stories of arranged marriages and roughly the other half remain unsaid. Considering the overall omission of arranged marriages through brokers on the show which usually involve monetary compensations, half of the women from the Mekong Delta region seem to migrated through broker-involved marriages. By omitting this crucial aspect of their marriages and women’s marginalized positions in both countries in its discourse, therefore, the show reflects and reinforces stigmatized positions that type of international marriage and migrant wives.

The representations of marriage immigrant women in *Love in Asia* reflect the social contexts of international marriages between Vietnamese women and Korean men, in that the majority of them come from rural areas or poor families and regions of Vietnam (Cho, 2006; Kim, 2012). By doing so, however, they also reproduce the association of immigrant women and poverty, and legitimize and naturalize the discourse of integration via assimilation to Korea and to husband’s family as favorable for all the involved parties (Kim, Park, & Lee, 2009). This resonates with Lee’s (2009) discussion that *Love in Asia* claims to raise the public multicultural awareness as Korea enters the era of multicultural society, as the first television program that represents marriage migrants on the public television channel. To this aim, the show tends to discursively promote the image of “exemplary” multicultural families and marriage immigrant women from the perspectives of Korean society, which accordingly eliminates diversity among marriage immigrant women and multicultural families and reinforces the nationalistic voice that emphasizes their assimilation.

6.3. Summary

The analysis of the representations of marriage immigrant women in ‘Love in Asia’ illustrates that media representations reinforce the ideologies in the policy discourse. The first section showed the most frequently recurring positioning of marriage immigrant women: ‘foreigners’ through explicit labeling (e.g., foreigner, Vietnamese, from another country, etc.) and implicit describing the process of their ‘adaptation’ (e.g., who learns the Korean language well, who can speak fluent Korean now, who likes Korean food more than Vietnamese, etc.). Another major representation of them was their gendered roles in relation to familial duties and patriarchal familial relationships, by explicitly labeling them as wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law as well as implicit description of their daily practices of fixing meals for husband and children, visiting parents-in-law often, living with in-law families, and so forth. Moreover, Korean witnesses’ evaluative comments on them were by and large charged with gendered responsibilities (e.g., takes care of parents-in-law better than Korean women, raises children well, domestic, etc.) and the image of amiable and obedient women (e.g., never complaining, good-hearted, frugal, cute-behaving, smiling, etc.). In addition, there was consistency in representing Vietnam as ‘poor’ (*kananhata*, *yelyakhata*) and underdeveloped (e.g., often description of their lives in the ‘nature,’ hardworking in unfavorable circumstances, etc.) in portraying marriage immigrant women’s homes in their countries of origin.

In sum, the representations of marriage immigrant women in *Love in Asia* describes international marriage between Korean men and foreign women, especially Asian women, as romantic and inevitable by romanticizing their stories and defocusing the power asymmetry between the sending and receiving countries in neoliberal capitalist globalization and the issues of discrimination and human rights violation of marriage immigrant women. The analyses of the

monolithic representations of marriage immigrant women from the integrationist perspective which reproduces discourses of assimilation in *Love in Asia* resonate with discussions in other research on the media discourse on migrant women in Korea (Kim, Park, & Lee, 2009; Yang, 2007). Although such representations reflect the reality of some marriage immigrant women to an extent, it is also important to recognize the existing dynamics and diversity among marriage immigrant women considering the impact of media discourses on the public's image of immigrants (van Dijk, 2008), which I discuss further in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7. SELF-REPRESENTATIONS OF MARRIAGE IMMIGRANT WOMEN

7.0. Introduction

While media and policy discourses by and large represent the hegemonic integrationist and patriarchal worldviews and voices of the host society through various routes, voices of marriage immigrant women are limited in such powerful discourses. Although their voices are in the interviews on the show, their utterances are framed in a specific way as media discourse. In other words, women are aware that their family and friends will see it and are not free to speak of their thoughts as they wish. In addition, some of the women in my dissertation are not represented directly through the media and policy discourses yet influenced by the public image of marriage immigrant women created by such discourses. To better understand diverse voices of the women, this chapter microanalyzes marriage immigrant women's self-representations in their interactions, which are backgrounded, under-represented, or even omitted in the media and policy discourses.

Microanalyses in this chapter adopt the poststructuralist perspective that focuses on how the women's transnational selves are constructed discursively as multifaceted and multidimensional negotiation process between other-imposed identities and self-constructed images of oneself (Higgins, 2011; Menard-Warwick, 2008, 2009). In the first section, I introduce women's voices of agentively responding to and challenging the media discourse, specifically *Love in Asia*, and their re-construction of selves as transnationals in resisting integrationist worldviews. Second, I analyze their negotiations of gendered identities and the role of their transnational selves (Gordon, 2004; Lee, 2010; Menard-Warwick, 2009) in their gendered

identity constructions. I selected the data based on the recurring themes of transnational selves, whether as a response to ‘othering’ or as more agentic constructing of alternative positionalities, and of gendered identity negotiation as daughters-in-law and wives. These topics emerged in various contexts: in classroom, coffee shop talks, and interview narratives. After identifying the recurring topics, I chose the data that clearly demonstrate women’s discursive constructions of selves which illuminate the space for exercising agency in responding to dominant ideologies imposed on them.

7.1. Alternative Representations as Transnationals

7.1.1. Resistance against the media representations of ‘poor immigrants’

In this section, I analyze excerpts in which two women from Vietnam bring up *Love in Asia* to challenge and resist the associations of ‘poverty’ and ‘immigrant women’. Oh and Lee (2001) conducted an interview study to investigate marriage immigrant women’s self-interpretations of how multicultural families and marriage immigrant women are represented in *Love in Asia*. The study emphasized the importance of the voices of women to better understand how marriage immigrant women’s identities are (mis)defined and (mis)represented in the mainstream media discourses. The interview narratives of the participating women also show how their interpretations differ based on other elements of their social identities, especially educational backgrounds and the length of their stay in Korea.

The following interaction occurred at the first coffee talk with Mayumi, Asako, and Yuni in the first year of my data collection in 2013. I proposed to gather and talk about their lives in Korea approximately two months after the first day of my classroom observation. Prior to the coffee talk, they occasionally asked about my life in Insan and in the US during the break time of

the KSL class, which often led to the question of why I was interested in their lives. I explained that my position as a woman who lives outside my nation of origin inspired me to learn about migrant women in Korea and that I considered hearing migrant women's thoughts was important to improve lives of migrant women in Korea. Since Jimin, Sophie, and Eunhee worked after class and indicated difficulty to find free time, I met with Mayumi, Asako, and Yuni. The women I managed to interview, therefore, were more "free" to be interviewed partly because their socioeconomic statuses are relatively high with more background in education prior to marriage and high income in Korea, as people who met their husbands by chance rather than by last resort through a broker. The following is the summarized profiles of the participants in the excerpt.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Asako	2002	Early 30's	Japan	ESL school in Canada	- Bachelor's degree in Japan - Taught Japanese in Korea - Husband works for a corporation
Mayumi	2002	Mid 30's	Japan	ESL school in Australia	- Bachelor's degree in Japan - Taught Japanese in Korea - Husband teaches English at a language school
Yuni	2006	Mid 20's	Vietnam	During husband's trip in Vietnam	- High school degree in Vietnam - Worked part-time at an international marriage agency - Husband works for a corporation

It was the first time I interacted with the participants outside classroom as well as the first time Yuni interacted with Asako and Mayumi outside classroom, which means the participants spend considerable amount of time identifying selves and others. Mayumi and Asako have been friends since their migration to Korea in 2002. Prior to the excerpt, Mayumi asked my (J in the excerpt) plans for dating and marriage as I am living outside Korea. She shared her original plan to meet an Australian man while studying English in Australia, but she ultimately became romantically involved with a Korean man, now her husband. Asako added to the story by

agreeing that she too had no knowledge of Korean culture nor interest in marrying a Korean man until she met her husband at a language school in Canada. Both of the women's experiences were rather different from the media portrayals discussed in the previous chapter. Throughout their talk, both women emphasized the coincidental, unintended, unexpected nature of their marriage to Korean men and migration to Korea. That is when I asked how international couples are portrayed in media because their stories seem different from what many people describe.

Excerpt 1: "All the women are poor on that show" (07/17/2013, Coffee shop)

- 1 Y:** **lepu in asia nao-nun[: ku.**
 love in Asia appear-RL DM
(Those) who appear in "Love in Asia"
- 2 J:** [ung ung
- 3 Y:** **[ta:: kananha-key nao-canh.a=**
 all be poor-AD appear-you know.INT.DC
They all appear to be poor, you know.
- 4 M:** **[lepu in asia**
 love in Asia
"Love in Asia,"
- 5 J:** **=ung ung ung=**
 yes-INT
Yeah, yeah, yeah.
- 6 Y:** **=kungkka [kkok (.) ku: (.) kananha-n salam-man nawa-yo.**
 right just DM poor-RL person-only appear-POL.DC
Exactly, there are always only poor people on the show.
- 7 M:** [°ung°:
- 8 Y:** **lepu in asia-ey-nun.=**
 Love in Asia-on-TOP
On "Love in Asia."
- 9 J:** **=ku: phulo[kulaym-ey:**
 that program-on
On that program.
- 10 M:** **[e: ku phulokulaym-ey.**
Oh, on that program.
- 11 Y:** **[le- ung. (.)**
 lo- yes-INT
Lo-, yeah.

- 12 Y: [kunikka ta: mak.
So all DM
So, all of them
- 13 M: [ku salam-i kulem kuke-yeyyo. manna-n:. (.)ma- ma- (.)
that person-SUB then that-be-POL.Q meet-PST.RL mee mee
- 14 mwe-lako hayya- manna-n:.
what-QT say meet-PST.RL
Are those people then those who met, what do you call it, met?
- 15 Y: sen? [sen po-n
macsen macsen do-PST.RL
Macsen? Went on macsen?
- 16 M: [sen- sen pon ke, sen po-n ke-yeyyo?
macsen macsen do-PST.RL NOM macsen do-PS.-RL NOM-be-POL-Q
Did they go on macsen?
- 17 kuke nao-nun salam cenpwu; (.) °lapu in asia°.=
that appear-RL person all love in Asia
All those people on that show "Love in Asia"?
- 18 J: =ani-n: ke kath-ay[yo. (.) yenayha-nun kyengwu-[to manh-ayo.
not-RL NOM seem-POL.DC date-RL case-also many-POL.DC
It doesn't seem so. I think there are many cases where they dated.
- 19 M: [a: ani-ya; kuke-to [yenay
ah not-INT.Q that-also [dating
Ah are they not? There are also (people who) dated?
- 20 Y: [yenayha-nun
date-RL

kyengwu-tul-to iss-ciman. kuntay ta: [kananha-key
case-PL-also exist-but but all poor-AD
There are cases of dating too, but they're all (portrayed) as poor.
- 21 J: [kuntay (.) [kananha
but poor-
But poor-
- 22 M: [kulayto
though

kananha-n(hhh) mac-ayo(hhh) [mac-a .hhh
poor-RL right-POL.DC right-INTDC
Poor, though. Right, right.
- 23 Y: [ku ku kohyang-ey mos k- ku
DM DM hometown-to cannot DM

myech nyen-i-ci sam nyen: [isang mos ka-nun:=
how many year-be-SUP three year over cannot go-RL

How many years was it? (People) who cannot go to their hometown for over three years,

24 M: [ung: mos ka-ko:
yes-INT cannot go-and
(They) cannot go (to hometown) and,

25 Y: =salam-tul-i ta: [thipi po-ko. (.) ney
people-PL-SUB all TV see-and yes-POL
Those people watch TV and, yeah.

26 A: [ung:

27 J: [ung:

28 Y: ku phulokulaym nawa-yo.
that program appear-POL.DC
They come on that show.

29 J: ung::

30 A: ung:

31 J: ta kule-n ke ani-ntey [kuchyo [ung ung
all be so-RL NOM not-but right um um
Although not everyone's like that, right? Um, um.

32 Y: [ney [ney
yes-POL yes-POL
Yeah, yeah.

33 A: [ung ung
Um, um.

(3.0)
((Drinking sound))

34 Y: kuntay ipon-i nao-nun kyengwu-nun- a >ipon-un kakkawu-nikka
but Japan-SUB appear-RL case-TOP oh Japan-TOP close-because

kumpang kasstawassta kunun< peythunam hako (.) philliphin;
quick go-and-come that-TOP Vietnam and Philippines

(.5) ku taum.ey talun nala-eyse-nun cacwu: (.) lepu in
that next-at different-RL country-from-TOP often love in

asiaey nawa-yo.

Asia-on appear-POL-DC

But the cases with Japan, oh I guess it's close and you can fly back and forth easily from Korea. Vietnam, Philippines, and other countries are often on the show.

35 J: um:::
(2.5)

36 J: um:
(2.5)

37 A: °philliphin° (.) [philliphin-to manh.i iss-tako;
Philippines Philippines-also a lot exist-TQ
Did you say there are many from the Philippines as well?

38 Y:

[philliphin hako peythunam hako (.) ey?=
Philippines and Vietnam and huh
Philippines and Vietnam and, what?

As a response to J's comment that stories of international marriages in the media seemed different from the stories of the three participants, Yuni brings up the television program "Love in Asia," as an example which represents migrant women. She argues that the show always portrays marriage immigrant women 'as poor' (*kanahakey*) and 'only poor people appear on the show' (*kkok kananhan salam-man nawayo*). Her argument is emphasized by her use of adverbials that form extreme cases (e.g., *ta* 'all,' *kananhan salam-man* 'only poor people'). While Mayumi shows her lack of knowledge in the show and positions Yuni as an expert in the topic by asking her whether all the couples on the show were arranged through *macsen* ('an arranged date as prospective marriage partners') and Asako's participation is minimal, Yuni displays her expertise on the show. To Mayumi's question, J answers there seem to be couples who dated (*yenay*), Yuni provides a countering account which shifts the focus back to the marginalized socioeconomic status of marriage immigrant women on the show: 'there are cases of dating, but all (portrayed) as poor' (*yenayhanun kyengwutulto issciman kuntay ta kananhakey*). Mayumi provides her agreement by partially co-constructing the sentence and partially providing agreeing statement 'right' (*macayo*) repeatedly. Yuni adds an account for the portrayal of marriage immigrant women as poor by explaining the qualifications to be on the show: the inability to afford to visit the home country for over three years. In so doing, Yuni is representing the women participating in the coffee talk as distinct from those portrayed on the show, resisting being positioned as one of the socioeconomically marginalized immigrant women on the show. J shows her acknowledgement by adding 'When not everyone is like them, right'. Yuni and Asako overlap with one another and show their agreement 'yes,' co-constructing

the distancing. Their resistance against the representation of marriage immigrant women as poor is influenced by their relatively high socioeconomic status both in home countries and Korea, and their middle-class positions are not represented through the media discourse. Their resistance against the hegemonic ideologies that represent immigrant women in association with poverty resonate with Pavlenko's (2001) discussion of an elite immigrant woman's resistance against the similar discourse in the U.S.

After a three-second-long pause with sipping sounds, Yuni invites the other two participants to the discussion by comparing representations of Vietnam to Japan on the show, 'but the cases where Japan is shown,' a home country of the other two participants, but stops without completing her sentence then jumps to her own conclusion 'because Japan is close by, people can go often' with an increased speed. She then finishes her statement by saying 'Vietnam and the Philippines, and then other countries appear frequently on 'Love in Asia''. In her incomplete and self-answered question of 'why is Japan not represented as often?,' she attributes a lack of Japanese women on the show in contrast to Vietnamese and Filipina solely to a short distance to travel to Japan, excluding other possible explanations such as economic and political status of the countries, or the number of immigrant women from the countries. She provided a conclusion without actually asking the question, and Mayumi and Asako remain silent after Yuni's conclusion. After almost five seconds of silence occasionally broken by J's 'um,' Asako slightly shifts the focus of the talk to the Philippines, a third country other than Vietnam or Japan. From her question, the talk moves onto their classmate from the Philippines who is too busy to attend classes due to her career as an English teacher. Tension that may be created by discussing the different statuses of the two countries in the context of international

marriage in Korea are avoided by all the participants' co-construction of silence, which indicates their awareness of the topic and discomfort to discuss it.

While Mayumi and Asako show a lack of interest in and knowledge about the show but stronger interest in sharing life stories of romance as women living abroad, which shows their desire to construct themselves as transnational women by associating with the transnational aspect of the researcher's life, Yuni, who is from Vietnam, displays expertise about the show and expresses strong resistance to the representations of economically marginalized marriage immigrant women on the show. It is important to contextualize her resistance against the representations of Vietnamese women on the show within the positions of marriage immigrant women from different countries. While Vietnamese women appear on the show the most frequently along with Filipina, the biggest groups of migrant wives come from China: 32 percent are ethnic Koreans (*joseonjok*) and 26.5 percent are Chinese. Vietnamese women are the third biggest group (19%), and Japanese are the fifth (4.3%). Between Vietnam and Japan, women from Japan are 'minorities' among marriage immigrant women, which can explain more frequent appearance of Vietnamese women on the show; however, although Chinese and Korean diasporas in China are the largest groups, more focus is on Vietnam in the media. Korean diaspora women from China are less of the concern in media and policy, as they are viewed as 'Koreans' who have the same ethnicity and speak the same national language. In addition, the associations of immigrant women and poverty on the show resonates with the statistics published by MOGEF in their 2015 Multicultural Family Plan (p. 18), which I analyzed in Chapter 5; overall income of multicultural families tends to be lower than the national average. As more Vietnamese migrant wives in Korea came from rural areas (Seol *et al.*, 2006) and poor families in Vietnam (Belanger & Linh, 2011; Kim, 2012) compared to women from other countries, the

majority of Vietnamese migrant wives in Korea probably have relatively low socioeconomic status. The frequent representations of “poor Vietnamese women” on *Love in Asia*, therefore, reflect the reality of Vietnamese migrant wives in Korea on the one hand, and reinforces the asymmetrical integrationist worldview that concerns with socioeconomically marginalized immigrants who are a possible threat to the society on the other hand. In other words, many socioeconomically marginalized Vietnamese women in Korea and dominant discourses about them will impact Yuni’s interactions with others. This accordingly leads to her resistance against being positioned as “poor” solely because of her ethnic identity. In sum, as this excerpt demonstrates, multiple elements of women’s identities such as gender, socioeconomic class, ethnicity, nationality, and the nature of their marriage, interact in immigrant women’s discursive constructions of selves in response to the larger discourses on them.

Similar to Yuni’s discursive resistance, another Vietnamese woman Youngbee (YB in the excerpt) complained about television programs that represent marriage immigrant women while chatting with Hyemin, who is the teacher of the KSL class. Considering the fact that many interactions between Hyemin and the women in class are constructed as among women rather than as between a teacher and students, I use a pseudonym Hyemin (H in the excerpt), a name that carries similar cultural meaning with her real name. The following excerpt occurred in the first class after the biggest traditional Korean holiday *chuseok* (a day to celebrate harvest on Lunar August 15th) when Hyemin asked Youngbee how her holiday went. Prior to the excerpt, Youngbee showed her resentment towards visiting her in-law families because they constantly make ignorant and degrading comments on her and Vietnam. She then brings up ‘Love in Asia’

and another newer television program ‘*gobuyeoljeon*¹⁶’ that portray marriage immigrant women’s lives in Korea with a stronger focus on their relationships with mother-in-law.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Youngbee	2012	Mid 20's	Vietnam	At work in Korea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Master's degree in Korea - Was a full-time interpreter for the Human Resources Development of Korea in Seoul and part-time after moving to Insan - Husband works for the same department, will be stationed in Vietnam in 2017
Hyemin		Late 30's	Korean		- Teaches KSL classes at the Multicultural Families Support Centers and in induction classes at public schools

Excerpt 2: "I really hate those programs!" (09/11/2014 Classroom)

1 YB: ce yeki sala-po-nikka: (1.5) um:: (.5) assa: (.)
 I.HUM here live-see-because DM As-

2 **lepu in assia?**
 love in Asia
 As I've lived here, Asia- Love in Asia?

(1.5)

3 H: asia? (.5) mwusun asia-yo? (.5) a lepu in asia:
 Asia what Asia-POL ah love in Asia
 Asia? What Asia? Oh, Love in Asia.

4 YB: ey lepu in asia [hako:
yes.POL love in Asia and
Yeah, Love in Asia and

5 H: [ah::

6 YB: ko- e- ko:mwu:yel:cen?

7 H: kopwuyelcen?= 'Gobuyuljun'?

¹⁶ *ansalam* is a compound noun combined with a noun *an* (inside) and a noun *salam* (person), to refer to one's own wife in a humble way t

DM seriously appear-not-because
Because they don't discuss it seriously,

24 YB: ung

25 H: enni-nun ohilye himtulkey sal-akako iss-nun salam-tul-i,
sister-TOP reversely hard live-PRO-RL.PRE person-PL-SUB

26 ku phulokulaym-ul pwa-ss-ul ttay [i salam-tul-i
that program-OBJ watch-PST-RL.FUT time this person-PL-SUB
So she means when people who are struggling watched the show,
this people-

27 YB: [a:

28 H: te himtul swu-to iss-ta-la-nun ke-yeyyo.
more hard can-also exist-PLN.DC-QT-RL.PRE thing-be.POT

29 ihay toy-sey-yo?
understanding become-HON-POL
It can make their lives harder, she said. Can you understand her
point?

30 YB: ney.
Yes.

31 H: kungkka e ce salam (.) na-lang ttokkathi: hankwuk-ey
so DM that person I.PLN-with same Korea-to

32 wa-ss-nuntey, e: ce salamun ku minyetuluy swuta-eyse
come-PST-but DM that person DM Talk of Beautiful Women-in

kyelhonha-n salam-to iss-ess-canh-ayo:.
to marry-RL.PST person-also exist-PST-you know-POL
So (they can think) those women came to Korea like I did, you
know there were married women on Talk of Beautiful Women

33 YB: ung:
Yeah.

34 H: ta kyelhonha-n ke-n ani-ciman: e ce salam-un
all to marry-RL.PST thing-TOP be not-but DM that person-TOP

35 celehkey cal sal-ko iss-nuntey [na-nun. e wuli hankwuk-
like that well live-PRO-but I.PLN-TOP DM our Korea-
Not all of them were married, but like that person is living
happily, but me, our, Korea-

36 YB: [ung:
Umm.

37 nay namphyen-un [way ileh-ci? [kulehkey sayngkak-i=
my.PLN husband-TOP why like this-SUP like that thought-SUB
Why is my husband like this? Thoughts like that-

38 YB: [ung: [ung

- 39 H: =tul swu-to [iss-nun ke-ko,
come can-also exist-RL.PRE thing-and
They could think like that too, and
- 40 YB: [ung:
- 41 H: kulayse te: i koylikam-i nukki-l-
so more DM feeling disconnected-SUB feel-RL.FUT
- 42 nukkyeci-l swu-to iss-ese >ku enni-nun< ku
be felt-can-also exist-so that older sister-TOP that
- 43 phulokulaym-ul silheha-si-nun ke-yeyyo:=
program-OBJ dislike-HON-RL.PRE thing-be.POL
*So, they could feel disconnected, and that's why she dislikes
that program.*
- 44 YB: =kulemyen ku enni::
if so that older sister
Then she
- 45 H: ney.
yes.POL
Yes.
- 46 YB: silheha-nun iyu hako cey-ka silheha-nun iyu (.)
dislike-RL.PRE reason and I.HUM-SUB dislike-RL.PRE reason

wancen pantay-i-ney-yo.
complete opposite-be-APP-POL
*The reason she hates ('Chat of Beauty') and the reason I hate
('Love in Asia') are completely opposite, I see.*
- 47 H: e:
Oh.
- 48 YB: ce-nun way ku: lepin- lepuin asia hako kopwuyelcen:
I.HUM-TOP why that Love in Love in Asia and 'Gobuyuljun'

silheha-nya-myen (1.0) ku: nao-nun: salam-tul.=
dislike-Q.PLN-if DM appear-RL.PRE person-PL
*As for me, the reason why I hate 'Love in Asia' and 'Gobuyuljun'
is that people on the shows*
- 49 H: =kananhata-ko-yo?
poor-QT-POL
You mean they are poor?
- 50 YB: kananhay-se mos na- ku wuli sitayk: sikkwu chelem:
poor-so cannot I.HUM DM our in-law.HON family like
- 51 wenak peythunam-ey tayhay ce peythunam salam-i-lase
quite Vietnam-about I.HUM Vietnam person-be-so
- 52 peythunam-ey tayhayman yaykiha-ko peythunam-ey tayhay wenak
Vietnam-about about-only talk-and Vietnam-about quite

53 **cisik** **eps-nuntey:** **ilen** **phulokulaym-ul** **thonghayse:**
 knowledge not exist-but this kind of program-OBJ through

kulehkey: sal-ass-kwuna:

Because they are poor, people like my in-law families, because I am Vietnamese they talk about Vietnam but they really don't have knowledge about Vietnam, and by watching such programs, they (would think) 'oh I was right. Vietnam is that poor, oh she (Youngbee) lived like that.'

56 YB: [e e e
Yeah, yeah, yeah.

women on *Talk of Beautiful Women*, but she is positioned by others, including other Vietnamese in Korea as well as Koreans such as her in-laws, as one of the marginalized Vietnamese migrant wives on *Love in Asia*.

Upon Youngbee's confirmation, Hyemin provides a countering argument to rationalize the representations on *Love in Asia* by quoting her friend's perspective on both television shows, who has worked with marriage immigrant women both as a KSL teacher and a counselor. I omitted approximately 20 lines wherein Hyemin introduced the background information of her friend and started her argument. In the omitted lines prior to Line 14, Hyemin reported her friend's witnessing more of unhappy (*pwulhayng*) families than such successful and happy families in the 'reality' (*silcey*) of multicultural families. From line 14, she quotes her friend's evaluation that *Love in Asia* better portrays the reality in which the majority of marriage immigrant women live in Korea who have conflicts (*kaltung*) and are marginalized (*himtulkey salko issnun*). She then continues quoting her friend's evaluation of *Talk of Beautiful Women* as falsely portraying migrant women's lives as 'too joyful and too happy' and failing to deliver real-life conflicts and struggles. She finishes her argument by commenting that many unprivileged immigrant women may feel further marginalized by comparing their lives to those successful women on *Talk of Beautiful Women*. By quoting her friend, who is discursively positioned as an expert in the matter of marriage immigrant women through her extensive exposure to the lives of the women, Hyemin is legitimizing the representations of poor marginalized marriage immigrant women on *Love in Asia* as more realistic.

This representation of migrant women in Korea, however, conflicts with Youngbee's self-identification. In responding to Hyemin's argument, Youngbee constructs her opposing stances by stressing her perspective as 'completely opposite' (*wancen pantay*). When Hyemin

provides a simple backchanneling response ‘oh,’ Youngbee continues on elaborating her reasons to dislike *Love in Asia* and *Gobuyeoljeon*, which fail to represent Youngbee’s identity as an educated upper-class elite. When she starts her argument with the subject ‘people who appear on the show’ (*naonun salamtul*), Hyemin indicates that she is aware of Youngbee’s social status that differ from the women represented in the media by interrupting and providing her speculation of Youngbee’s upcoming argument, ‘you mean they are poor?’ (*kananhatakoyo?*). Youngbee acknowledges Hyemin’s speculation but provides her own account: ‘like my in-law family, when they significantly lack knowledge in Vietnam, they can (think) that they were right in assuming Vietnam is that poor and I lived like that back in Vietnam through programs like this’. In her comments, she positions her in-law families as ignorant and lacking knowledge (*wenak peythunam-ey tayhay cisik-i epsnuntey*) to make generalizations about Vietnam with their limited information from such discourses on TV. In so doing, she delegitimizes her Korean in-law families’ worldviews as uneducated and incorrect, accordingly challenging the monolithic media discourse that generalizes poverty to the entire nation-state and reduces Vietnam to poverty and inferiority. Hyemin shows her acknowledgement by confirming Youngbee’s resistance against the monolithic representation of Vietnam that impacts the public image of the country: ‘In case Korean people think that way’ (*hankwuk salamtul-i kulehkey sayngkakhalkka pwa*).

Youngbee’s resistance against the media representation is also strongly intertwined with racism she faces in conversations with her in-laws, which seems to be heavily influenced by the media discourses on immigrant women and Vietnam, as illustrated in the previous chapter. For instance, she also complained about her in-laws’ ignorant and negative (*mwusihanun*) assumptions that there is no rice or eggs in Vietnam prior to the selected excerpt. On another day, she also talked about her sister-in-law’s shifted attitude after visiting her home in Vietnam;

her parents invited extended in-law families to Vietnam for vacation, and they saw her parents' house with servants and vacation homes they own for the first time. She commented that her sister-in-law stopped yelling at her and commanding her at family gatherings afterwards. This shows her awareness of her in-laws' discrimination against her based on their assumption that Youngbee is poor and uneducated like the Vietnamese migrant wives on TV. There is a significant discrepancy between her self-constructed identities as an elite upper class woman with extensive economic, social, and cultural capitals both in Vietnam (a daughter of a wealthy and powerful family, an elite who is studying abroad) and Korea (an elite who worked as a professional interpreter for the Korean government with a Master's degree) and her in-laws' positioning of her that reduces her identities to a mere 'poor immigrant woman' from 'poor Vietnam' as they saw on television. As the representations in mainstream media discourses such as television are the main and possibly the only source for people like her in-law family whose exposure to the image of immigrants is limited to the media portrayal, as van Dijk (2008) also discussed, she is highly resentful of the media representations that reproduce the image of 'poor immigrants' that powerfully influence Koreans' perspectives on transnationals like her.

Both Yuni and Youngbee construct particular resistance against the association of marriage immigrant women and poverty, a frequent representation of marriage immigrant women from Vietnam on the show as seen in the previous chapter. They challenge the representations of 'poor Vietnamese immigrant women' by accusing the representation of as partial and monolithic. This resonates with the findings of Oh and Lee (2011), in that women whose socioeconomic statuses differ from the women represented in *Love in Asia* question the validity of the representations. It is the relatively higher socioeconomic status (e.g., higher income, education, unintended marriage, etc.) of Yuni and Youngbee that gives them the

opportunity to resist whereas women in more marginalized positions have limited opportunities to resist. Their resistance thus illuminates both the reality of many of Vietnamese marriage immigrant women in Korea represented on the show and the imposition of the image of poor immigrant women by dominant discourses on migrant women whose socioeconomic status is not represented through the media discourse. In sum, Yuni's and Youngbee's resistance against the dominant discourses on Vietnamese immigrant women demonstrates dynamics among marriage immigrant women with diverse socioeconomic status and symbolic capitals.

7.1.2. Construction of transnational selves

Not only do women's self-representations occur in response to the existing discourses in media or politics, but they also create alternative discourses that position themselves transnationals through the co-construction or reconstruction identities by foreground their symbolic capitals that extend beyond national boundaries. These alternative constructions of selves occurred during discussions on diverse topics such as children's education, gender (in)equality, bilingualism at home, or career plans, both in class and during group talks. The excerpts of this section will illustrate how they distance from the hegemonic ideologies and discourses on marriage immigrants and of 'Korean-ness,' and re-construct their identities as transnationals.

Co-constructing a Community of Transnational Women

The first excerpt is from the first group talk with Mayumi, Asako, and Yuni in July 2013. In this excerpt, the three participants co-construct representations of their transnational selves who had lived in different countries, engaged in international relationships, coincidentally migrated to Korea, and still keep in touch with their home languages and cultures in daily

activities. Their transnational activities and identities have not been represented in the academic literature on marriage immigrant women in Korea although researchers have discussed their struggles with and the limitation of the discourse of integration via assimilation (Kim, 2007; Kim, 2009; Lee, 2009; Nam & Ahn, 2011; Oh and Lee, 2011; Seol *et al*, 2006; Yang, 2007).

Their summarized profiles are:

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Asako	2002	Early 30's	Japan	ESL school in Canada	- Bachelor's degree in Japan - Taught Japanese in Korea - Husband works for a corporation
Mayumi	2002	Mid 30's	Japan	ESL school in Australia	- Bachelor's degree in Japan - Taught Japanese in Korea - Husband teaches English at a language school
Yuni	2006	Mid 20's	Vietnam	During husband's trip in Vietnam	- High school degree in Vietnam - Worked part-time at an international marriage agency - Husband works for a corporation

In continuation of Excerpt 1 in the previous section, Mayumi, Asako, and Yuni are sharing their stories about meeting their husbands either in their home country or abroad. The participants discursively represent themselves as people who unexpectedly and unintentionally married Korean men and distance from the dominant representations of marriage migrant women in Korea whose marriages are arranged by brokers. Prior to the excerpt, Mayumi (M in the excerpt) told the participants of the talk that she had lived in Korea for one year prior to her marriage, and J (the researcher) asked if that was when Mayumi met her husband. Mayumi answered that they met in Australia at a language school and that she spent a year in Korea to decide whether she could migrate to Korea. Asako (A in the excerpt) and Yuni (Y in the excerpt) have also shared their stories about how they met their husbands, in Canada and Vietnam, respectively.

Excerpt 3. "We All Met Our Husband Abroad" (07/17/2013, Coffee shop)

- 1 Y: a: kulem enni hocwu: (.) yuhakha-le ka-si-n
ah then enni¹⁷ Australia study abroad-to go-HON-PST.RL
- 2 [ke-yeyyo?
thing-be.POL
Oh then you went to Australia to study abroad?
- 3 M: [e wakhing holliteyi-lo kunyang ka-ss-ess-eyo:
um working holiday-as just go-PST-PST-POL
Um, I just went as a working holiday.
- 4 J: um:[:
Oh.
- 5 M: [ku ttay namphyen-to ttok.kath-nun ehak- [ehaktang
that time husband-also same-RL langua- language school
My husband also (attended) the same language school back then.
- 6 J: [ung:::
- 7 M: ku ttay manna-n (.) kuntay (.) wuli chinkwutul-un ta (.)
that time meet-RL.PST by the way our friends-TOP all
- 8 kulay-yo
so-POL.DC
(We) met then. By the way, all our friends are like that.
- 9 J: um::[::
Oh.
- 10 M: [ney (.) oykwuk-eyse ta manna-ss-eyo(hhh)=
yes foreign country-in all meet-PST-POL.DC
Yeah, (we) all met (our husbands) abroad.
- 11 J: =a[: ku namphyen-[ul?
ah DM husband-OBJ
Ah, husbands?
- 12 M: [namphyen [Asako ssi-to han sa nyen cen?
husband Asako HON-also about four year ago
Husbands. Asako also (met her husband) about four years ago?
- 13 Y: [a:
- 14 A: ceto
I-also
Me, too.
- 15 Y: ennito(hhh)
enni-also

You, too.

- 16 M: **khaynataeyse selo mannass.e.yo** [(hhh)
Canada-in each other meet-PST-POL-DC
(Asako and her husband) met each other in Canada.
- 17 J: [a:
- 18 A: **wuli-nun keuy ta mwe oykwuk-[i-ci**
we-TOP almost all DM foreign country-to be-SUP
We all (met our husbands) abroad, you know.
- 19 M: [oykwuk-eyse
foreign country-in
In another country.
- 20 A: [khaynata-na: hocwu-na:
Canada-or Australia-or
Canada or Australia or...
- 21 Y: [ilehkey ilehkey macsen¹⁸ po-ko kyehonha-nun ke
like this like this macsen try-and marry-RL.PRE thing
- 22 **ani-canha wuli ku-c-yo.**
not-you know.INT.DC we be so-SUP-POL
We all, you know, didn't meet our husbands through macsen, right?
- 23 J: **ung kulu-ney:=**
um to be so-APP
Oh, that's right.
- 24 Y: **=kunyang wuyenhi ilehkey manna-se [ayin-hako: (.)**
just by chance like this meet-and lover-with
We met our boyfriends by chance and
- 25 A: [ey yuhak-
yes-POL study abroad
Yeah, study abroad..
- 26 Y: **yenayha-ko kyehonha-n**
date-and marry-PST.RL
Dated and married

A transnational life style as a woman living abroad seems to be the common ground the three participants constructed with me as part of the group and the identification they are making of themselves, framing the talk in a particular way of sharing transnational life stories. When Yuni asks the purpose of Mayumi's visit to Australia, she answers that she went for a working

others. The antonym is *pakkatsalam*, which means outside (*pakkat*) person (*salam*) to refer one's husband in a humbl

holiday and explains the context of meeting her husband at a language school in Australia. In her following comment, she constructs a community of transnational women, ‘our friends are all like that’ (*wuli chinkwutulun ta kulayyo*), who met husbands abroad, ‘we all met [our husbands] in another country’ (*oykwukeyse ta mannasseyo*). The pronoun ‘we’ (*wuli*) here refers to a group of mutual female friends of Mayumi and Asako, representing them as part of this group of transnational women who lived, studied, dated, and married outside their nation of origin. She then invites Asako to co-construct the representation by eliciting ‘Asako also, about four years ago?’ (*asako ssito han sa nyen cen?*) as she looks at Asako, and Asako accepts the invitation by including herself in the group of transnational women: ‘Me, too’ (*ce-to*). Mayumi volunteers to provide further information about Asako’s story of meeting her husband in Canada in supporting her earlier construction of transnational selves. Asako confirms Mayumi’s representation through agreeing comments: ‘almost all’ (*keuy ta*) of their (*wuli*) friends met their husbands abroad (*oykwuk-i-ci*). Her use of the suppositive suffix *-ci-* shows her commitment and alignment with Mayumi’s identification of them. Their discursive co-construction of a transnational community of educated women resonates with discussions on transnationals’ frequent affiliation with other transnationals who share similarities in their socioeconomic and transnational identities (Block, 2006; Duff, 2007; Higgins, 2011).

A particularly interesting representation of transnational self is made by Yuni in lines 21 and 22, when she joins the co-construction by including herself in the community of transnational women. Yuni seeks agreement and acknowledgement in her utterance ‘we all, you know, didn’t meet our husbands through macsen, right?’ (*macsen po-ko kye honha-nun ke anicanha wuli ku-c-yo*). First, she uses the inclusive pronoun, *wuli* ‘we,’ now to refer to all three married women of the talk and describes them as a homogeneous group who have met a Korean

boyfriend, “being in a relationship with the boyfriend,” “and then married,” in contrast to those who found a husband through *macsen*, the term referring to traditional Korean marriage arrangements. Yuni is distancing herself from the marriage immigrant women whose marriages are arranged by agencies, Koreans whose marriage was arranged, and non-transnationals while identifying herself as one of the transnational women. Moreover, she uses the suffix *-canh-*, which indicates the speaker’s assumption of the interlocutors’ agreement and epistemic stance that assumes the information as shared knowledge (Kawanish & Sohn, 1993; Kim & Suh, 2004; Sohn, 2010), and seeks the other women’s acknowledgment in the shared identity as transnational women. Yuni’s seeking agreement is amplified by her use of the suppositive suffix *-ci-* in her tag question *kucyo* (‘aren’t we?’/‘right?’). J shows her acknowledgement, and Yuni further elaborates the shared nature of their marriages. Interestingly, she uses words which have strong cultural implications regarding marriage in Korea: *macsen* ‘and arranged date for marriage’ and *yenay* ‘dating’. While *macsen* has connotations of planned, calculated, thought-through marriage arrangement even without the international aspect, *yenay* emphasizes the romantic connection between two individuals without negative connotations. What is noteworthy is that *macsen* in general refers to traditional and conventional marriage arrangement among native Koreans which has existed for a long time. In the discourse of international marriages, the term became a euphemism to refer to and Koreanize *kwukceykyelhon* ‘international marriage,’ legitimizing it to fit in with the Korean norm in media discourses, as seen in the analysis of *Love in Asia*.

The importance of highlighting their love stories concerns with representing themselves as equal individuals to their husbands whose marriages were unintended events for a couple with similar life goals, not with the aim of marriage as last resort in order to resist against being

positioned as the stereotypical marriage immigrant women. Especially, Yuni's position in Korea as a Vietnamese woman seems to influence her discursive self-representations, in that the dominant nation-state and media discourses represent Vietnamese women as poor migrant wives whose marriages are arranged by a broker. During the individual interview in the same year, Yuni told me that she is the only one whose marriage was not arranged among her Vietnamese friends in Korea. Yuni's construction of transnational self by affiliating with other transnational women in the interaction thus suggests her awareness of others' positioning of her as a stereotypical migrant wives and agency to resist. Their co-construction of middle-class transnationals with stories of unintended marriage to a Korean man, in other words, illuminate their negotiation with dominant discourses and ideologies on marriage immigrant women and their agency in providing alternative discourses of communities and identities as transnational that accept neither the marginalizing ideologies on immigrant women nor the discourses of integration of the women to become Koreans.

Representation of Self as a Transnational Global Citizen

In the following excerpts occurred between Maiko (MK), Elena (E), and Hyemin (H) in 2014 before the KSL class started.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Children	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Maiko (MK)	2007	Late 30's	Japan	1	ESL school in New Zealand	- Bachelor's degree in Japan - Full-time housewife - Husband works for a corporation
Elena (E)	2008	Early 40's	Korean diaspora born in Uzbekistan and raised in Russia	2	In Russia. Husband worked at a Russian branch of a	- Master's in TESOL and Russian linguistics in Korea - Teaches after-hour Russian and English classes - Husband works for a major corporation

something-RL-Q.FAM
Just something is

(3.0) ((someone plays an audio file and T asks to pause it))

- 4 MK: **wancenhi hankwuk emmaᄃ (.) ay-ka twu myeng iss-nuntey**
completely Korean mom kid-SUB two have-and
- 5 **ta: il-tung-i-eyyo. hakkyo-eyse(hh) chesccay-nun Private**
all first-be-DEC.POL school-at first-TOP Private
- 6 **kotunghakkyoᄃ**
high school
A typical Korean mom? She has two kids, and the oldest (goes to) Private High school.
- 7 H: **e: kulem naika com- yensey-ka com kkway iss-usi-ney-yo?**
oh then age-SUB a bit age.HON-SUB a bit quite have-HON-APP-POL
Oh. Then (Hyemin) is quite old, I guess?
- 8 MK: **mahun tases- e com celme- sumwul tases sal ttay**
forty five DM a bit young- twenty five years old time
- 9 **kyelhonhay-ss-tako.**
marry-PST-QT
45. Um, a bit young. I heard she got married at 25.
- 10 H: **a: ilccik kyelhona-sy-ess-kwuna:**
ah early marry-HON-PST-APP.INT
Ah, she got married early.
- 11 MK: **ku kongpwu-to manhi ha-si-ko: etise chengsonyen**
DM studying-also a lot do-HON-and somewhere adolescents
- 12 **sangtam kulen tey-se il ha-si-myense**
counseling such place-at work do-HON-while
(She) studies a lot while working as an adolescent counselor somewhere
- 13 H: **ung:**
Oh.
- 14 M: **pwuca-si-ko.**
rich person-HON-and
And rich.
- 15 H: **ung:**
- 16 MK: **(hhhhh) kunyang (h) com nem:: a(h) aphulo suthuleysu pat-ul**
just DM to- ah forward stress receive-RL.FUT
- 17 **ke kath-a. kyaysok ha-myen(hh) [ku(h) lay(h) se(hh)**
thing seems-DEC.INT continue-if so
((laughs)) I just feel like I'd get stressed if I continued, so
- 18 H: **[ung:**

in this context. In addition, Maiko attributes her discomfort with the instructor to another dimension of the instructor's socioeconomic status: 'rich' (*pwuca-si-ko*), followed by her laughter. Maiko provides her rationale to quit the program although she agrees that she can learn more about Korean education as she lacks knowledge in the area: she will be 'stressed out' by having her as the instructor.

Through her evaluation of the instructor, Maiko problematizes the competitive ideology on education in Korea, imposed by a Korean woman with relatively higher socioeconomic status who reinforces competitive schooling on marriage migrants. While none of the women in this interaction shows resistance against the policy to educate immigrant spouses and agrees with the policy to some degree. No one, however, disagrees with Maiko's problematization of the ideology imposed by the instructor. Similar to Maiko, Elena have also discussed her intention to migrate her children to Russia multiple times in classroom due to her resistance against highly competitive ideology on education in Korea. She plans to live half of the year in Russia during the semester and spend time in Korea during her children's school vacation once her oldest son enters a middle school.

After the Excerpt 4, Maiko further elaborated the instructor's imposition of the competitive and neoliberal ideologies in education; Korean students' ability in math are ranked as the highest in the world, and children must learn English at an early age in the era of globalization. After Maiko further provided her discomfort with such neoliberal ideology in education, Hyemin responded by labeling the instructor as an 'overeager mother' (*kuksengin: emeni*), rather than average (*pothong*) mother. The following Excerpt 5 occurred in continuation of the evaluation of the instructor.

Excerpt 5. "Mothers Here Know the World's Educations." (Continued)

- 1 MK: a: (hhhhh) a ce- mwe-ci? ha:nato a(h) pat-aya toy-1 kes
ah ah I.HUM what-SUP one-even ah receive-must-RL thing
- 2 kath-untey kulen kyoyuk cal moll-ase:. chotunghakkyo
seem-but such education well not know-so elementary school
- 3 tuleka-ki cen-ey a kuntey[(hhh)
enter-NOM before ah but
*Ah, I suppose I need to take such classes since I don't know
Education (system) well, but... Ah...*
- 4 H: [kuntey (.) kuntey nemwu: hankwuk- (.)
but but too Korea
- 5 ku pwun-un cincca wancen hankwuk emma-si-ney-yo:.
DM person.HON-TOP really completely Korea mom-HON-APP-POL
- 6 casik kyoyuk-ey kwansim manh-un
child education-in interest much-RL
*But too typical of a Korean mother she is, who is interested in
Her children's education.*
- 7 MK: (hh)
- 8 H: ilpon pwun-tul-un kulehkey sayngkak an
Japan person.HON-PL-TOP like that thought not
- 9 ha-si-canha-yo. (.) kuliko yocum celm-un emma-tul
do-HON-you know-POL and these days young-RL mom-PL
- 10 cwungeyse-to: (.8) aki: ay-lul kuleh:key chotunghakkyo
among-also baby kid-OBJ like that elementary school
- 11 ttay pwuthe:
time from
*Japanese people do not think that way, you know? And these days
among young (Korean) moms too, from the elementary time to kids*
- 12 E: ung.
Yeah.
- 13 H: kuksengcekulo kyoyuk-[ul sikhi-l swu iss-
overeagerly education-OBJ teach-RL can
Teach so overeagerly, can-
- 14 MK: [eps-cy-o
not exist-SUP-POL
There isn't, right?
- 15 H: e- (.) philyo-ka iss-[nya:
um need-SUB there is-Q.PLN
Um, is it necessary
- 16 MK: [e:
- 17 H: ilehkey sayngkakha-si-nun emma-tul-to iss-ko-yo,

like this think-HON-RL mom-PL-also there is-and-POL

mwucoken sikhyya hanta [ile-n emma-tul-to iss
unconditionally teach-must-DEC.PLN this mom-PL-also exist
There are moms who think that way, and there are moms who think
they should teach (children at an early age) too.

18 E: [(hh)

19 MK: **thukhi cey-ka insan- insan-li-ey sal-ko**
especially I.HUM-SUB Insan Suburb Insan Suburb county-in live-and

20 **iss-ess-canha-yo. insan-li emma-tul-un: com nuckey?**
be-PST-you know-POL insan-suburb mom-RL-TOP a bit late

21 **kaluchye-to kwaynchanhta-nun emma-ka manha-yo.**
teach-even be okay-RL mom-SUB many-POL
Especially I've been living in Insan Suburb County, you know.
There are many moms who think it's okay to start teaching them
later.

22 H: **ung::**
Um.

23 MK: **com. (.) ey ey ey ey**
DM yes.POL
Like, yeah, yeah, yeah.

24 H: **ung:**
Um.

25 MK: **manhi kongpwu- emma-tul-to com (.) seykyey- seykyey-eyse**
much studying mom-PL-also DM world world-in

26 **ettehkey kyoyukha-nun ci kongpwuha-si-nun pwun-to**
how educate-RL NOM study-HON-RL person.HON-also

27 **manh-ase.**
many-so
Because there are also many moms who study how education is
in other countries in the world.

28 H: **ung:**
Um.

29 MK: **kulayse nemwu(hh) yeysnal emma? ccom yeysnal emma:**
so too old days mom a bit old days mom
So (Hyemin is) a very old-fashioned mom

30 **[kulen suthail**
such style
Old style.

31 E: **[ttak kulen**
exactly such
Exactly such type.

32 T: [ney: kuleh-ney-yo.
 yes.POL be so-APP-POL
 Yes, it seems so.

Maiko repeats her agreement with the purpose the Parenting Education as her son will enter an elementary school because she thinks she lacks knowledge in Korean education. Her agency is shown in enacting the policy, in that she discursively constructs her own rationale and desire to learn about Korean education based on her personal needs but simultaneously resists becoming a “typical Korean mother” with the neoliberal ideology in education. She adds ‘but’ from which Hyemin takes the floor and quote Maiko’s earlier evaluation of the instructor “too much of a typical Korean mother.” Hyemin earlier rephrased the expression as an ‘overeager mother’ among all Korean mothers (S. Park, 2007; Song, 2007). She then contrasts the overeager and neoliberal perspective on education to Japan as a whole, positioning Maiko as Japanese. In so doing, Hyemin provides her supposedly shared understanding of Japanese education, which is incompatible with the “overeager” Koreans’ neoliberal philosophy in education. Through deploying *-canha-*, which indicates the speaker’s seeking agreement, Hyemin elicits Maiko’s confirmation. By doing so, Hyemin positions Maiko as a Japanese national rather than a transnational Korean mother and assumes Maiko’s perspective derives from her national identity as Japanese. In that vein, Hyemin provides countering argument for Korean perspectives on education: such neoliberal and overeager ideology on education is ‘old-fashioned,’ and young mothers also question the necessity of competitive education. Maiko co-constructs Hyemin’s statement with ‘there is none (who educate children at such a young age)’ (*eps-cyo*) and shows her affiliation with those young Korean mothers who disagree with the imposition of neoliberal ideology on education.

Maiko's next turn sheds light on her construction of transnational self in the subject matter. She emphasizes her following argument to support her stance toward the topic of education by beginning with the adverb 'especially' (*thukhi*). She legitimizes her resistance against the Korean neoliberal ideology in education by positioning her stance among other many mothers in the Insan Suburb County whose belief considers such ideology unnecessary: 'there are many moms who think it's okay to start teaching them' (*Suburb-li emmatulun com nuckey kaluchyeto kwaynchanhta-nun emma-ka manha-yo*). By doing so, she aligns with other mothers in her local community in Korea rather than in Japan. She then comments that such resistance among many mothers in her community results from the mothers' experience in diverse education systems in the world (*emma-tul-to com seykyey- seykyey-eyse ettehkey kyoyukha-nun ci kongpwuha-si-nun pwun-to manh-ase*). She discursively represents herself and mothers in Insan Suburb County as mothers with global perspectives on the subject matter and claims an affiliation with a group of transitional mothers whose perspectives extend beyond a national boundary of Korea. In other words, Maiko delegitimizes "typical" overeager Korean mothers by representing her resistance as a legitimate alternative stance rather than a deviant view of an immigrant through discursively constructing a space to position herself in the context of transnational Korea who appreciates diverse perspectives on education in different countries and cultures. In short, she considers agentively enact parts of the policy to her pragmatic advantage such as the Parenting Education and KSL learning but resists the neo-liberal, competitive, 'typically Korean' ideology in education (J. Park, 2011; Shin, 2016; Song, 2007) by representing her belief as transnational and global.

Resistance against Homogeneous Representation of ‘Marriage Immigrants’

While the previous excerpts illustrated how marriage immigrant women discursively construct transnational selves in different interactional contexts, the following excerpt exemplifies resistance against representations of marriage immigrants as a homogeneous group which erase women’s transnational identities and reduce them to ‘migrant wives’. The excerpt occurred between Youngbee and Hyemin during the first class following one of the biggest traditional holidays in Korea *Chuseok*, the day of celebrating harvest on Lunar August 15th, when Youngbee was the only one who attended the KSL class.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Youngbee (YB)	2012	Mid 20’s	Vietnam	At work in Korea	- Master’s degree in Korea - Was a full-time interpreter for the Human Resources Development of Korea in Seoul and part-time after moving to Insan - Husband works for the same department, will be stationed in Vietnam in 2017
Hyemin (H)		Late 30’s	Korean		- Teaches KSL classes at the Multicultural Families Support Centers and public schools

Prior to this excerpt, Hyemin asked Youngbee about her holiday. Youngbee began her answer by complaining about her in-law family and shared ignorant comments her in-laws’ on Vietnam. Her sister-in-law, for example, made an assumption that Vietnam must be too poor to have rice or eggs to eat. Hyemin acknowledged the ignorance of Youngbee’s in-laws by evaluating her them as old and uneducated, and Youngbee shifts her problematization to the title of the textbook used in KSL classes at Multicultural Families Support Centers. The textbook is titled as ‘The Korean Language with Marriage Immigrants,’ which is produced and distributed as part of the integration policy of the Multicultural Families Support Act. The title of textbook thus

Excerpt 6: "I Hate the Term 'Marriage Immigrants'. Just 'Foreigners'!"
(09/11/2014, Classroom)

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- 15 H: **kulayse oykwukin-kwa hamkkey ha-nun-i ani-la, kyelhon**
so foreigner-with together do-RL-SUB not-but marriage
- 16 **iminca-wa hamkkey ha-nun-ulo ceymok-ul cengha-si-n**
immigrant-with together do-RL-as title-OBJ decide-HON-RL.PST
- 17 **ke kathayyo. waynyamyen il kwen pwuthe, cenpwu ta incey**
thing seem-POL because one volume from all all now
- 18 **sicang-eyse cang po-ko: [mwe (.) ilen: tayhwa-tu-li**
market-at grocery shop-and DM such dialogue-PL-SUB
I think that is why they titled it 'With Marriage Immigrants,'
not 'With Foreigners,' because from Volume 1, all the dialogues
are about grocery shopping and such, you see.
- 19 YB: **[ung.**
Yeah.
- 20 H: **=[naoketunyo?**
appear-you see-POL
- 21 YB: **[ung.**
- 22 H: **kulayse:**
So,
(1.5)
- 23 H: **yengpi-ssi-ka ku kyelhon iminca:la-nun i tane:na**
Youngbee-HON-SUB DM marriage immigrant-QT-RL this word-or
- 24 **[ilen tey] way yakkan com sangche-lul**
such place DM a little DM wound-OBJ
You got hurt by words like marriage immigrants
- 25 YB: **[silheyo.]**
hate-POL
I hate it.
- 26 H: **pat-usi-n il-i [manh-usi-kwuna:**
receive-HON-RL.PST occasion-SUB much-HON-APP
You've been hurt many times, I see.
- 27 YB: **[(hhh)**
- 28 H: **ku-chyo (hhh) .**
be so-SUP.POL
Right?
- 29 YB: **mac-ayo.=**
Right.
- 30 H: **=kuntey kyelhonha-si-n ci elma an**
but marry-HON-RL.PST since much not
- 31 **toy-sy-ess-canha-yo. (.) [kuntey ku saiey:**
become-HON-PST-you know-POL but that within
But it hasn't been long since you got married, and within that
time

- 32 YB: [cikumun: phal kaywel?
now eight month
Eight months by now.
- 33 H: ney. kuntay (.) kyelhon-ul ha-n hwu-ey yengpi-ssi-lul
but marriage-OBJ do-RL.PST after Youngbee-HON-OBJ

palapo-nun hankwuk salam-tul-uy si:sen-i pyello an coh-un
look-RL Korea person-RL-of view-SUB not really not good-RL

ke kathu-sey-yo?
thing seem-HON-POL
Yeah. Do you think how Koreans see you is not really in a
positive way after you got married?
(1.5)
- 34 H: sitayk sikkwu-tul [mal-ko-to:
Husband's family.HON family members-PL not-and-also
Besides your in-law families?
- 35 YB: [um:
Mmm.
- 36 H: kunyang: nay-ka haksayng-i-l ttay-lang, kyelhon-hako nase,
just I-SUB student-be-RL time-with marry-and then
- 37 yakkan (.) a: hankwuk salam-tul-i (.hh)[e: yakkan:
a little ah Korea person-PL-SUB um a little
Do Korean people, sort of, after you got married, compared to
when you were a student, a little..
- 38 YB: [hankwuk salam:
Korea person
- 39 ppwunman ani-ko:
not only-and
Not only Koreans,
- 40 H: ney.
Yeah.
- 41 YB: cikum yekiey iss-nun peythunam salam-tul-to:
now here stay-RL Vietnam person-PL-also
- 42 [kyelhon imincala:::ko ha-myen:
marriage immigrant-QT say-if
But also the Vietnamese people living here, if someone is called
a marriage immigrant
- 43 T: [ney.
(1.0)
- 44 YB: ccom mwusihay-yo.
a little ignore-POL
They kind of look down upon (me).

Her first comment clearly remarks her strong resistance against the positioning of a homogenous group of ‘marriage immigrants,’ which is represented in the title of the textbook they use: ‘I hate the topic of this book as well’ (*i chayk cwuceyto silheyo*). She also problematizes the labeling of learners in the title: ‘marriage immigrants’ by questioning the rationale for it. Hyemin presents her understanding of Youngbee’s resistance by rephrasing her comments through the use of the apperceptive *-kwuna-* to show her realization of Youngbee’s stance. Youngbee provides an alternative and more general positioning of ‘foreigner’ (*oykwukin*), which is co-completed by Hyemin’s co-completion and questioning ‘are you okay with calling it ‘with (foreigners)?’ (*kwa hamkkey hanun kukenun kwaynchanhayo?*). Youngbee approves it with elongated ‘yeah’ and repeats her question ‘why marriage immigrants,’ amplifying her resistance. Hyemin then provides an account: it is because vocabulary and contents are by and large related to housewives (*cwupwu*) and house chores (*sallim*). While doing so, she deploys *-canh-* to elicit Youngbee’s acknowledgement, and Youngbee expresses her understanding of the Hyemin’s account. As discussed by Hyemin and Youngbee in the excerpt, KSL education provided by the government as part of the integration program particularly designed for marriage immigrants, not any foreigners residing in Korea, positions its learners in a specific context: marriage immigrants who are primary caregivers in “Korean” families. This positioning of the policy accordingly positions its language education as a space wherein these marriage immigrant women can learn necessary linguistic and cultural knowledge. The lists of topics in the textbook is shown in Table 11. The topics that are clearly related to identities of housewives and discussions of house chores are bolded in the table.

Table 11. Lists of Textbook Topics

Textbook Level	Language Chapters	Culture Chapters
1	1. Hello?	1. Greeting Courtesy
	2. I am Filipina.	
	3. It is in the bag.	2. Birthday culture
	4. What does (your) husband do?	
	5. Who is this person?	3. Transportation
	6. It's husband's birthday.	
	7. I wake up at 7 every day.	4. Food culture
	8. How much is the cabbage?	
	9. I went to a park and took a walk.	5. National flag and
	10. Kimchi is a bit spicy.	National anthem
	11. I'll go to a sports day on weekend.	
	12. How do I get to the culture center?	
	13. (On the phone) hello? It's Mr. Kim's house, right?	
	14. Now I can make Korean food.	
	15. I will order black bean noodles.	
	16. Summer is hot, and winter is cold.	
	17. The movie was sad, so I cried a lot.	
	18. I want to buy a red sweater.	
	19. I'd like to send a parcel to the Philippines.	
	20. Please have some fruit while watching it.	
2	1. My hometown is an island, and it's famous as a vacation destination	1. Korean geography
	2. If you go straight, there will be an intersection.	2. Shopping culture
	3. As for the whole radish kimchi, I don't know how to make it.	3. Health
	4. I want to reserve plane tickets to the Jeju island.	4. Clothing
	5. I think children will like the ocean more than the mountain.	
	6. Please fill out the application form if you want to make a bank account.	5. House chores
	7. How about a hat for the father's gift?	
	8. I don't think green color looks good.	
	9. Which product is the most popular?	
	10. I learned it while managing house chores.	
	11. I'm making the spicy soup.	
	12. (To a hair dresser) Please make it like her.	
	13. My throat hurts, so I can't speak.	
	14. The blue dress is really pretty!	
	15. Could you get rid of this spot (on clothes)?	
	16. Don't polish the frying pan too hard.	

-
17. (People) eat rice cake soup on New Year's Day.
18. Would you (as mom) like to bring it to school?
 19. Have you been to the Jeju Island?

3

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- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. I'd like to see some houses...</p> <p>2. I guess it'd be better to use moving services.</p> <p>3. Would you come with your family to our housewarming party?</p> <p>4. Why don't you learn it together, Jinsu's mom?</p> <p>5. You have no idea how fun it was.</p> <p>6. (S/he) seems very nice.</p> <p>7. When are you expecting, saytayk (young wife)?</p> <p>8. Consider it as family's dining out and try it.</p> <p>9. I heard (parcel) only takes two days?</p> <p>10. Save plenty of water so you don't run out of water. (Water tank cleaning)</p> <p>11. I haven't seen (my family) for a year already.</p> <p>12. Anyone who wants to learn cooking can enroll.</p> <p>13. We should've left a bit earlier.</p> <p>14. As time passed, I could adjust to Korean life better.</p> <p>15. Have (the child) soak legs in the cold water.</p> <p>16. [Children's story] (Mom frog) thought her son would bury her in the mountain if she tells him to bury her in the river bank.</p> <p>17. It won't be okay if you don't quit smoking.</p> <p>18. I hope I will do well, not making mistakes...</p> <p>19. You can use it as cash or receive a gift card.</p> <p>20. I guess Seungheon will grow up to be an outstanding person.</p> | <p>1. Housing</p> <p>2. Antenatal education and childbirth</p> <p>3. Government office</p> <p>4. Korean people</p> <p>5. Education</p> |
|--|---|

4

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Why don't you buy fish in your neighborhood?</p> <p>2. I fix food with my utmost sincerity to ancestors.</p> <p>3. I thought cooking oil bottles were trash.</p> <p>4. Don't worry because you'll get well soon.</p> <p>5. No matter how much I learn Korean culture, I don't become accustomed.</p> <p>6. It's difficult to remember the wedding anniversary every year.</p> <p>7. I am worried if anything would happen to my own family (chinceng: wives' own family).</p> | <p>1. Traditional holidays</p> <p>2. The four ceremonial occasions of age, wedding, funeral, and ancestral rites</p> |
|---|--|

	8. I heard you put monetary gift in red envelopes, right? 9. I am submitting the documents. 10. I wish to become a mother-like teacher. 11. It is worth eating for this price, right? 12. I swear I surely will pass (the exam) next time. 13. I recalling hearing you can participate if you apply by tomorrow. 14. Don't feed (them) until they become well. 15. Arts are good for developing creativity. 16. I shouldn't have bought the vacuum cleaner. 17. I think we should volunteer as well. 18. Other apartments also sent donations, I recall. 19. It is possible if (one) is busy, I suppose. 20. According to the representative, waiting time will be reduced.	3. Life at work 4. School life 5. Korea in the world
5	1. Thrift and savings 2. Foreign language education 3. Popular culture 4. Linguistic courtesy 5. Social and regional facility 6. Health and diet 7. Childbirth and nurturing 8. Job-searching consulting 9. Weather and living 10. Guiding children 11. Tips for living 12. Folk remedy 13. Private education and public education 14. Newspaper and information 15. Employment 16. Immigrant Policy 17. Family relationship 18. Life style and traditional culture 19. Mass media and living 20. Public order	
6	1. Traditional holiday 2. Pension and insurance 3. Children's education 4. Economy and living 5. Korean modern history 6. Social change 7. Worldview 8. Career 1 (Life at work) 9. Living and science 10. Environment 11. Art 12. Figure	

-
13. Social crime
 14. Education policy
 15. Career 2
 16. Future life
 17. International community
 18. Women and society
 19. Volunteer
 20. Literature
-

As Hyemin argues, many of the topics concern with managing households, familial relationships, and raising children with an assumption that the target learners are women (e.g., childbirth and nurturing, reference to their husbands, addressing them as mothers, *chincheng*, etc.). In the excerpt, both Youngbee and Hyemin are aware that the target learners of the textbook are migrant wives. After suggesting an account for the title, Hyemin demonstrates her acknowledgement of Youngbee's life experiences which caused her resistance: 'Maybe there have been occasions you got hurt by words such as marriage immigrants' (*yengpi ssi-ka ku kyelhon imincalanun i tanena ilen tey way yakkan com sangchelul patusin ili*). As soon as Hyemin acknowledges the discrimination that Youngbee may have encountered, Youngbee reconfirms her resentment against the positioning of 'marriage immigrants: 'I hate it' (*silheyo*). Reconfirmed by Youngbee, Hyemin continues to express her compassion: 'there must have been many (cases)' (*manhusikwuna kucyo*) with the apperceptive *-kwuna-*, demonstrating her acknowledgement of the situation, and a tag question *kucyo*, and Youngbee reconfirms it and laughs. Hyemin asks a question whether Youngbee has been stigmatized by others after her marriage to a Korean man. As Youngbee stays silent, Hyemin further elaborates her question by comparing Youngbee's past identity as 'a student' (*haksayngil ttay*) with 'after marriage' (*kyelhonhako nase*). Youngbee confirms it, but adds that it is not only Koreans but other Vietnamese in Korea who stigmatize her as 'marriage immigrant'. As shown in her profile, Youngbee originally migrated to Korea as a graduate student and worked as a professional

interpreter for the Korean government; however, her positionality changed drastically to a migrant wife after she married a Korean man. The drastic shift in others' positioning of Youngbee after her marriage accordingly erases her transnational, educated, and elite positionalities. Regarding the monolithic representation of migrant women as a homogeneous group that reduces them to mere wives of Korean men, Hyemin also made an interesting comment in the interview in July 2015: "You know, if a Cambodian woman whose status is the top 1 percent in her country happens to marry a Korean man, she becomes nothing more than just a marriage immigrant in Korea."

As seen in the excerpts in this section, there seems to be a discrepancy between the monolithic representations of marriage immigrant women and dynamic and complex identities of the women as transnationals. Firstly, the nation-state discourse of policy positions them as immigrants in need to be supported, helped, and ultimately integrated into Korean families via assimilation and to contribute to the national growth in the era of neoliberal globalization. By doing so, the policy discourses reinforce the modernist one nation-one language ideology instead of acknowledging multiculturalism as a society. In a similar vein, KSL education also positions them primary caregiver of Korean families in its education. Women's discursive self-representations in this dissertation, however, illuminated dynamic negotiations between self-claimed transnational selves and other-imposed identities and resistance against the dominant discourses on marriage immigrant women when they disagree with the discourses. The analyses of this section particularly resonate with Higgins' (2011) discussion on transnationals' tendency to build their own transnational communities of practice and affiliate with other transnationals who share similar social identities. Also, the analyses illustrate how marriage immigrant women in Korea claim legitimate membership in Korean society by representing themselves with other

transnational Koreans. Their multifaceted social identities afforded by and constructed through different symbolic capitals they possess and their socioeconomic statuses, therefore, interact with their identities as transnational women living in Korea.

7.2. Gendered Identity Constructions of Marriage Immigrant Women

Building on the body of work in immigrants and gendered identities in transnational spaces (Gordon, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001), this chapter analyzed discursive construction of marriage immigrant women's gendered identities.

Interactions both in and outside classroom among the women in this study also frequently involved topics of in-law relations and familial duties. In their interviews with marriage immigrant women on a rural island of Korea, Seong and Han (2011) also reported 30 percent of the participants attributed hardships they undergo to conflicts with parents-in-law, which was omitted in the media representations of them. The over-arching topic among the participants of this dissertation also regarded in-law relationships, resonating with previous studies in marriage immigrant women in Korea (Seong and Han, 2011; Kim, 2012; Joo, 2010).

The analyses in this section will illustrate how marriage immigrant women negotiate with gender ideologies imposed upon married women in Korea and how their negotiation interact with other elements of their social identities, symbolic capitals, and social orders. I will also analyze how their transnational selves interact with their gendered identity negotiations as married women in Korea. The first section will analyze clear examples of discursive resistance against the imposition of patriarchal gender ideologies. Next, I will examine more complex negotiations of gendered identities where women's agency may be constrained due to other social contexts. The last section will discuss how transnational women utilize different cultural

and linguistic resources as well as ideologies in larger discourses in negotiating gendered identities and achieving specific interactional goals.

7.2.1. Negotiation of gendered identities: Resistance

This section will analyze the extracts in which the women discursively resist patriarchy-influenced gendered ideologies and identities imposed upon them as wives and daughters-in-law both in and outside classroom.

Resistance against the Patriarchal Holiday Culture in Class

Excerpt 7 occurred during a regular linguistic lesson focusing on *sacasenge*¹⁹ in July 2013 among Mayumi, Yuni, Hyemin (H) who teaches the KSL class, and J (the researcher).

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Mayumi (M)	2002	Mid 30's	Japan	ESL school in Australia	- Bachelor's in Japan - Was a Japanese language teacher - Husband is an English teacher at a language school
Yuni (Y)	2006	Mid 20's	Vietnam	During husband's trip in Vietnam	- High school - Worked at an international marriage agency part-time - Husband works for a corporate

The expression *namnyechabyel* 'gender (men-women) discrimination' came up in the lesson, and Hyemin asked if women in class consider gender discrimination apparent in Korea. Yuni first answered "these days, not too bad," commenting that it seems to have been worse in the past, judging by the representations in Korean dramas. Mayumi answered "it doesn't seem too bad." Hyemin then elicits elaboration from both by asking if they have felt discriminated as

e way to others.
character idioms, often but not always based on the traditional anecdotes from Chinese tales.

women, for example, while talking to the elderly such as parents-in-law, friends of parents-in-law, or elderly neighbors. Mayumi provides an example from her experience as a daughter-in-law in Korea during ancestral memorial ceremonies (*ceysa*).

Excerpt 7: "Men Are Watching TV, We Are Running Around!"
(07/25/2013, classroom)

- 1 M: ce-nun (.2) °>kunyang<° mal-nun: molu(.)keyss-nuntey
I-HUM-TOP just word-TOP not know-guess-but
- 2 (.2) ku (.) ceysa-na >kule-l ttay nukky-ess-e.yo.<
DM ancestral memorial-or such time feel-PST-POL.DC
- 3 [°manhi°
much-AD
As for me, no one said it in my face, but I felt (gender discrimination) on family memorial days and such, a lot.
- 4 H: [a: mac.a.yo.
Ah, right.
- 5 J: [um:
Oh.
- 6 H: ceysa [ttay nukky-eci-c-yo.
ancestral memorial time feel-get to-SUP-POL.DC
Right, you get to feel it during memorial ceremonies.
- 7 M: [theyleypi po-ko iss-ese
television watch-and stay-because
- 8 namphyen-tul-i. [mwe:
husband-PL-SUB DM
Because husbands were watching TV,
- 9 H: [ey:.
Yeah,
- 10 M: °ccom mwe° way kule-n ci molla(h)-ss-e(h).yo(hhh)=
little DM why be so-RL NOM not know-PST-POL.DC
I didn't know why it was that way (laugh).
- 11 H: =a:.
Ah.
- 12 M: wuli-n ye:lsimhi >[selkeci ha-ko< [ta: ha-ko mwe.
we-TOP diligently dishwashing do-and all do-and DM
We wives are doing dishes and all kinds of work and,
- 13 Y: [a: [a:
Ah Ah.

- 14 M: [wumcik-iko iss-nuntey
move-and stay-but
Moving around, but
- 15 H: [ney. kuntey elun-tul-i amwu malssum an ha-si-c-yo.=
yes-POL but elder-PL-SUB any word-HON not say-HON-SUP-POL
Yeah, but the elders don't say a word, right?
- 16 M: =kuke tangyenha-n ke chelem. [kunyang:
that granted-RL NOM like just
1As if it just were how it should be.
- 17 J: [um:
Um.
- 18 M: [namca-tul-un theyleyipi po-ko: iss.e. [kule-n sik-ulo
man-PL-TOP television watch-and stay-INT-DC be so-RL way-by
Like, "Guys, you just watch TV."
- 19 H: [ney [°ey°
Yeah. Yeah.
- 20 J: [um:::
Um.
- 21 M: hay-se [com
do-because little
So it was a little,
- 22 H: [kulayse:
So
- 23 J: [um::
- 24 Y: [°mac.a°.
Right.
- 25 M: °(hh)°=
- 26 H: =ey. (.) [kuke-y (.) ku tane- ku tan.e kiekna-sey-yo?
yes-INT that-SUB that word that word remember-HON-POL.Q
Yeah. Do you remember that word?
- 27 M: [kkamccak nolla-ss-e.yo(hhh) k(h)uke p(h)o-ko (.)
startled be surprised-PST-POL.DC that see-and
I saw it and was really surprised.
(1.6)
- 28 H: myeng- (.) myengce:l(.)-ey, sayngki-nu:n, (.5) pyeng-iyo.
holi- holiday-on occur-RL sickness-POL
The sickness you get on holidays.

As pointed out in Menard-Warwick's (2008) discussion on social positioning and ideology imposed on immigrant women as housemakers or low-entry employees in second

language classrooms, the textbook topics used in the KSL programs, which is offered by the MOGEF as part of the integration program, also often position them as housemakers and use a variety of vocabulary and expression regarding their positions as wives or daughters-in-law. Topics of in-law relations and gendered practice of house chores accordingly emerge fairly often in class. Mayumi's answer shows the gender ideologies imposed on her as a daughter-in-law during Confucian family memorial ceremonies (*ceysa*): to fix the traditional food and clean up. Contrasting her previous answer "not too bad," she answers she feels gender discrimination 'a lot' (*manhi*) on such occasions even though overt verbal discrimination is rare. Hyemin and the researcher, who are also aware of such custom, simultaneously show their agreement, which is followed by Hyemin's further comment *ceysa ttay nukkyecicyo* 'Right, you get to feel it during memorial ceremonies'. Her use of the suppositive suffix *-ci-* shows her commitment to her agreeing statement. Mayumi then continues elaborating on what "husbands" and "men" do, or are entitled to do: watching TV, in contrast to what "we" (which refers to daughters-in-law, possibly excluding blood-related women such as husbands' mothers or sisters) do: 'doing dishes and all kinds of work, and moving around'. In other words, *ceysa* and similar cultural practices are systemic patterns of control (Darvin & Norton, 2015) used to exercise gendered ideologies as cultural capital that reinforces and reproduces patriarchal gendered ideologies. Furthermore, the gendered ideologies are explicitly manifested through the reported speech of an elder (*elun*) in-law family member's utterance 'Men, you just watch TV,' to which Yuni shows her agreement by saying 'Right'.

Towards the patriarchal gendered ideologies reinforced in *ceysa*, she adds an evaluative comment 'I didn't know why it was that way,' disagreeing to viewing such gendered practice as natural. Hyemin overlaps with Mayumi and says 'but the elders don't say a word, right?,' again

deploying the suppositive suffix *-ci-*, seeking Mayumi's agreement. Latching Hyemin's comment, Mayumi aligns with her and co-construct the statement by adding 'as if it just were how it should be'. Here, Mayumi shows her resistance against the ideologies of gender roles and is representing the voice of a woman who disagrees with the larger discourse on gender roles. She adds the concluding evaluative comment, 'I was very surprised when I saw it,' overlapping with Hyemin's previous turn, which rarely happened in class based on my observation. By evaluating such practices as 'surprising,' she creates space to distance herself from the imposed gendered identities in her in-law family tradition. In so doing, she discursively resists to assimilate to gendered identities in a new culture. This was not the only time Mayumi discursively resisted against such gender ideologies; in a group talk with me and Asako in 2014, she made another comment that if she had known such cultural practices, she would not have been able to marry her husband. After her last comment, Hyemin takes up Mayumi's story and introduces a new expression used in Korea that aligns with her story, "holiday syndrome," which refers to the physical and emotional pain and stress that women experience before and after holidays in Korea due to the heavy load of household chores associated with holidays. As connecting the topic of the discussion to the Korean terminology, Hyemin positions the participants' resistance against the heavy house chore duties on holidays in alignment with Korean daughters-in-law and locates their struggle within the larger context of the gender biased customs in traditional Korea.

The next excerpt, which happened in August 2014, illustrates similar discursive construction of resistance against the patriarchal holiday custom in Korea. The excerpt occurred when Hyemin (H) asked Youngbee, Eunhee, Elena, Jimin, and Sawako (S, who attended the class for the first time in search of the class that matches her proficiency level) about their plans

for the upcoming holiday *chuseok*, one of the biggest traditional holidays in Korea. Youngbee answered that she had a nightmare the night before as the holiday approaches when Hyemin talked about the holiday traffic jam.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Jimin (JM)	2003	Early 30's	Vietnam	Through an agency	- Bachelor's degree in Vietnam - Part-time multicultural lecturer and agent for a pyramid cosmetic company - Husband works for a company affiliated with a major corporation
Eunhee (EH)	2007	Late 20's	Cambodia	Through an agency	- High school graduate - Part-time multicultural lecturer at public schools and a part-time interpreter - Husband: farmer
Youngbee (YB)	2012	Mid 20's	Vietnam	At work in Korea	- Master's degree in Korea - Was a full-time interpreter for the Human Resources Development of Korea in Seoul and part-time after moving to Insan - Husband works for the same department, will be stationed in Vietnam in 2017
Elena (EL)	2008	Early 40's	Korean diaspora born in Uzbekistan and raised in Russia (<i>goryeoin</i>)	In Russia. Husband worked at a Russian branch of a Korean corporate	- Master's in TESOL and Russian in Korea - After-hour teacher in Russian and English at a public high school - Husband works for a major corporate

Excerpt 8: "I Married a Wrong Person!" (09/04/2014)

- 1 YB: **ce pelsse: icey ku: myechil cen-ey: akmong-ul:**
 I.HUM already now DM a few day before nightmare-OBJ
- 2 **kkwe-ss-eyo**
 dream-PST-POL
 I already had a nightmare a few days ago.
- 3 H: **cha milli-nun(hh)=**
 car be congested-RL
 About the traffic jam?
- 4 YB: **=ani ani: sikol-ey nayli-nun ke: sikol**
 no.INT country-to go down-RL.PRE thing country

5 nayly-ese pwuthak pat-ase kulko kulay ecey-to
go down-and then favor receive-so and so yesterday-also

6 namphyen-ilang: ssawe-ss-eyo. way: chwusek-ey ka: (.)
husband-with fight-PST-POL why Chuseok-on go

7 ku:: hankwuk salam-i kyelhonha-nikka: calmos hay-ss-ta:
DM Korea person-SUB marry-so wrong do-PST-DL.PLN

8 na sicip calmos ka-ss-tako(hh)=
I.PLN husband's family wrong go-PST-DL.QT
No, no. About going to the country (the in-law family's), I was asked for a favor, so... And I had a fight with my husband yesterday too. I said "Why go there? I married a wrong person, because I married Korean."

9 All: =(hhhhhhh)

(1.0)

10 H: peythunam-eyse-nun: myengcel ttay. (.) kkok sicip-ey
Vietnam-in-TOP holiday time surely husband's family-to

11 an- sitayk-ey an ka-to [tway-yo?
not husband's family.HON-to not go-also okay-POL
In Vietnam, you don't need to visit the patriarchal family?

12 JM: [ney.
 yes.POL
 Right.

13 H: a::::

14 JM: ay-tul-man.
kid-PL-only
Just children.

15 H: a: [kulay-yo [a:
ah be so-POL ah
Oh, is that so? Oh.

16 JM: [nola-yo(h) [ung.
 play-POL yes.INT
 They hang out. Yeah.

(.8)

17 YB: [wuli::
 We-

18 H: [khampotia-to.
Cambodia-also
Cambodia as well?

19 EH: ney.
Yes.

- 20 H: a kkok an ka-to tway-yo?(.) [sitayk-ey?
oh surely not go-also oaky-POL husband's family.HON-to
Oh, you don't need to go? To the in-law's?
- 21 EH: [ney. kunyang wuli cel:
yes.POL just we.PLN temple
- 22 wuli cel: ka-canh-ayo [cel: ka-yo.
we.PLN temple go-you know-POL temple go-POL
Yes. We just go to a temple, you know. We go to a temple.
- 23 YB: [um:
Um.
- 24 H: a: kunyang cel-ey-man ka-si-myen toy-kwuna=
ah just temple-to-only go-HON-if okay-APP.INT
Oh, you just have to go to a temple, I see.
- 25 EH: =ney
Yes.
- 26 H: [um:
Umm.
- 27 JM: [wuli ceysa: kath-un ke-to eps-ko-yo
we.PLN ancestral ritual same-RL.PRE thing-also not have-and-POL
We don't have a such thing as Korean Confucian ancestral memorial rituals, either.
- 28 H: um:: (.) lesia-to tangyenhi [eps-ul ke-ko.
um Russia-also undoubtedly not have-RL.FUT thing-and
Umm. Of course Russia doesn't have it, either.
- 29 EL: [hum(hh)
Hm ((laughs)).
- 30 JM: [hum(hhh)
- 31 YB: [(hhh)
- 32 H: ilpon-un. (.) iss-cyo:
Japan-TOP have-SUP.POL
Japan has one, right?

(.8)
- 33 S: yey.
Yes.

(1.0)
- 34 S: ce.
I.HUM
- 35 H: hankwuk-ilang yakkan pisusha-n ke-y iss-ta-lako
Korea-with a bit similar thing-SUB exsit-DL.PLN-QT

36 tul-ess-nuntey.=
hear-PST-but
I heard there is something similar to Korea...?

37 S: =yey iss-ki-n iss-nuntey: [com
yes.POL exist-NOM-TOP exist-but a little
Yes, there is, but, a little...

38 H: [i cengto: kkaci-n
this degree up to-TOP

39 ani-cyo.
be not-SUP.POL
Not to this degree, right?

40 S: yey[(hhh)
Right. ((Laughs))

41 H: [e: (.) hankwuk-i ceyil: [pokcapha-kwuna (hh)
oh Korea-SUB the most complicated-APP.PLN
Oh, it's the most complicate in Korea, I see.

42 S: [(hh)

43 YB: ce ilehkey mili al-ass-umyen:
I.HUM like this beforehand know-PST-if
If I had known it beforehand, I-

44 S: (hhhh)

45 YB: kyelhon an hay-ss-ul [ke-yeyyo.
marriage not do-PST-RL.FUT thing-be.POL
I wouldn't have married (him).

46 H: [hankwuk-ey o-si-n ci
Korea-to come-HON-RL.PST since

47 kkway- kkway toy-sy-ess-canh-ayo. kuntay kyelhon
quite quite become-HON-PST-you know-POL but marriage

48 mwunhwa-ey tayhayse-n cal molu-sy-ess-eyo?=
culture-about-TOP well not know-HON-PST-POL
It's been quite a while since you came to Korea. But you didn't know well about the marriage culture?

49 YB: =ani: ku yeysnal-ey: tan- tanswunhakey: e nayly-ese:
no.INT DM old day-in sim- simply um come down-so

50 ku: amwu pwutam an: pat-nun cwul al-ass-nuntey:
DM any pressure not receive-RL.PRE know-PST-but

51 silcey-lo-n an kulay-yo.
reality-by-TOP not be so-POL
No, I thought it was just a tradition from the old days and there is no pressure, but it is not true in reality.

52 EL: um::

Um.

53 YB: **paywu-n tey hako si- silcey-nun wancen talla-yo (hh)**
 learn-RL.PST place with re- reality-TOP completely different-POL
 What I learned is completely different from the reality.

Youngbee, who is from Vietnam, starts her story with a strong labeling ‘a nightmare’ that preceded the holiday, Hyemin simply assumed Youngbee dreamed about horrible holiday traffic jam. Youngbee, in fact, had a nightmare about visiting in-law families and had a fight with her husband in resistance against the cultural practice of spending holidays with husband’s side of the family. She quoted her own speech of questioning the tradition ‘why [do we have to] go [to the in-law’s] on *Chuseok*’ (*way chwusek-ey ka*) and complaining that she made a “wrong decision to marry a Korean person” (*hankwuk salam-i kyelhonha-nikka calmos hayss-ta na sicip calmos kass-tako*) to her husband. In quoting herself, she creates space to represent herself as a woman who disapproves patrilineal gender ideologies in Korean marriage and holiday custom since it is unfair to her. In so doing, she explicitly orients to the ethnic identity of her husband and distances herself from him, who is positioned as a cultural representative. She attributes her regret and struggle to his ethnic identity as ‘a Korean person’ (*hankwuk salam*) instead of positioning him based on gender, a man who benefits from such patriarchal cultural practice. As she performs a transnational woman who holds more than one cultural capital and a woman whose home culture does not impose such patriarchal holiday custom. Hence, her discursive performance as a transnational woman allows her to delegitimize the patriarchal ideology of holiday custom, to challenge the hegemonic discourse, and to position it as particular to Korean culture. Latching with her comments and following laughter, everyone in class laughs.

Her delegitimization is also accepted and unfolded by Hyemin as she elicits other women to share cultural perspectives from Russia, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Japan to conclude the

practice as unique to Korea, not universal or natural. After a one-second-long pause, Hyemin asks if people do not need to visit the husband's families on holidays in Vietnam to which Jimin answers 'yes,' overlapping with Hyemin's question. Jimin then elaborates that only children go to grandparents' place and hang out. Hyemin asks if it is the same in Cambodia, and Eunhee says yes. After Hyemin's request for clarification 'you don't need to go? To *sitayk*?'. Eunhee confirms by saying 'Yes. We just go to temples; you know' while overlapping with Hyemin. In the next line, by deploying the Apperceptive sentence-type suffix *-kwuna-*, Hyemin shows her realization of different holiday custom. Jimin further elaborates on Vietnamese holiday culture in contrary to Korea by adding 'And we also don't have things like *ceysa*' (*wuli ceysa kathun ke-to eps-ko-yo*). Hyemin looks at Elena and makes an assuming statement 'Russia of course doesn't have [*ceysa*] either' (*lesia-to tangyenhi eps-ul ke-ko*) to which Elena shows agreement with a slight laughter and short sound "hm." Elena's laughter is immediately followed by Jimin's and Youngbee's overlapping laughter, which shows the participants' alignment. When Hyemin invites Sawako to the conversation by categorizing Japan with Korea, Sawako shows disagreement by using a conjunctive suffix *-nuntey*, projecting a contrasting comment in her answer 'yes there is, but a bit' (*yay iss-ki-n iss-nuntey com*). Her use of *-nuntey* enables Hyemin to notice Sawako's disalignment, and she co-completes the sentence by adding 'not to this degree, right?' (*i cengto-kkaci-n ani-cyo*). As Hyemin elicits Sawako's agreement by using the suppositive *-ci-*, Sawako answers 'yes,' which is followed by her laughter. Deploying the apperceptive *-kwuna-* again, Hyemin makes a concluding remark 'oh, it is the most complicated in Korea, I see' (*e hankwuk-i ceyil pokcapha-kwuna*). In sharing holiday custom in their home counties, which do not posit the same patriarchal ideology as in Korea, the participants

collaboratively distance from gender ideologies in Korean holiday culture and co-construct such culture as specific to Korea rather than natural and universal.

As the class discussion supports Youngbee's argument, Youngbee's problematization of patrilineal ideologies in Korean holiday culture is legitimized in the local context. Youngbee continues her discursive resistance by stating she would not have married her husband if she had known about such gendered identities in advance (*ce ilehkey mili al-ass-umyen kyelhon an hayssul ke-yeyo*). When Hyemin questions Youngbee if she was unaware of Korean marriage culture in spite of her long stay in Korea, Youngbee argues the discrepancy between the reality and what she had learned at school. In classroom, gender ideologies were discussed as 'simply succeeded from the past without any pressure' (*yeysnal-ey tanswunha-key nayley-se amwu pwutam an pat-nun cwul al-ass-nuntey*); however, she realized it is 'not true in reality' (*silcey-lo-n an kulay-yo*) and 'completely different from the reality' (*paywu-n tey hako silcey-nun wancen talla-yo*). Here, different discourses of traditional gender ideologies especially in familial events and discourses of social change in gender ideologies seem to interact with Youngbee's struggle and negotiation between her imagined self and the positionality imposed by others.

One important note is that Youngbee's constant resistance not only in this excerpt but in other parts of my data sheds light on understanding multifaceted identity negotiations of marriage immigrant women as her positionality in Korea has dramatically changed, from an educated elite to a marriage immigrant woman. Other aspects of her identities as wealthy, upper class, educated, and professional elite are eliminated when others position her as a marriage immigrant woman, who is often associated with poverty and is stigmatized. She is from a remarkably wealthy family that has several servants and nannies, used to be positioned as an educated elite with a Master's degree in Seoul, and worked for the Human Resources Division

of Korea as a Korean-Vietnamese interpreter before moving to Insan in 2014. Her economic, cultural, and social capital in Vietnam, therefore, was also recognized as legitimate and valuable across transnational spaces after moving to Korea as a graduate student and a professional until she married a Korean man. She feels that all her symbolic capitals are delegitimized when her identity of an immigrant wife is foregrounded and imposed by others, which consequently leads to her constant resistance. In other words, she faced marginalization as a marriage immigrant as well as a woman.

Jimin, who is also from Vietnam, however, suggests an alternative perspective in the following excerpt that immediately followed the previous excerpt. She sees the Korean traditional holiday custom as interesting than oppressing, which does not seem to be taken up by other participants.

Excerpt 9: "We Can Call her the Infinite Positivity." (Continued)

- 1 JM: [phwungsup-un com wuli nala com talla
 custom-TOP a little our.PLN country a little different
- 2 **caymiss-canha-yo.**
 interesting-you know-POL
 The custom is a little different from our countries, so it's
 interesting, you know.
- 3 H: **ney?**
 yes.POL
 Pardon?
- 4 JM: **phwungsup**
 Custom.
- 5 H: **phwungsup?**
 Custom?
- 6 JM: **ney.** [(xxx)
 yes.POL
- 7 H: [phwungsup-i tall-ase caymiss-ta-ko-yo?
 custom-SUB different-so interesting-DL.PLN-QT-POL
 Did you say it is interesting because the custom is
 different?
- 8 JM: **ney** **kwaynchanh-ayo (h) =**

yes.POL okay-POL
Yes, it's okay.

9 H: =a:
 Ah.

10 JM: (hhh)

11 H: mwuhan kungceng[(hh)i-pnita [mwuhan kungceng(hh)
 infinite positivity(hh)be-DL.DEF infinite positivity
 It's infinite positivity, infinite positivity.

12 JM: [(hhh)

13 YB: [(hhh)

(.8)

14 H: mwuhan-ila-nun mal tule po-sy-ess-cyo?
 infinite-be-RL.PRE word have heard-HON-PST-SUP.POL

15 way theylleyipicen-eyse mwuhan tocen-to nao-canh-ayo=
 DM television-on infinite challenge-also appear-you know-POL
 *You've heard the word infinite, right? There is a TV program
 called 'Infinite Challenge' as well, you know.*

16 YB: =ung:
 Yeah.

17 H: wuli ne:mwu kungcengcek-i-n salam-ul po-ko,
 we.PLN too positive-NE-RL.PRE person-OBJ see-and
 When we see a person who is too positive,

18 JM: a(h) [mwuhan kungceng
 ah infinite positivity
 Ah, infinite positivity.

19 H: [a: mwuhan kungceng-uy [soyuca-lako ha-pnita.
 ah infinite positivity-of possessor-QT say-DL.DEF
 We call them "ah, the person of infinite positivity."

20 EH: [e(h)
 Oh.

21 H: soyuca.
 Possessor.

((Hyemin is writing the word 'possessor' on the board.))

22 H: nemwu nemwu kungcengcek-i-n[(h) maintu:
 too too positive-be-RL.PRE mind
 Too, too positive of a mind.

23 EH: [a(hh)
 Ah.

24 H: mwuhan kungceng-uy soyuca: (.) [Jimin ssi(hhh)
 infinite positivity-of possessor Jimin HON

Jimin, the possessor of the infinite positivity.

25 YB:

[(hh)

Here, Jimin positively evaluates the traditional holiday custom as ‘interesting’ (*caymiss-canh-ayo*), which attributes to different cultural practices in Korea compared to her home culture in Vietnam. She uses the suffix *-canh-* in seeking agreement on the supposedly shared understanding from the listeners, but other women remain silent. Instead, Hyemin requests for clarification for multiple times although Jimin confirms it repeatedly. Hyemin then requests for clarification in an explicit question form ‘did you say it is interesting because custom is different?’ (*phwungsup-i talla-se caymiss-tako-yo?*) with a higher volume and a rising intonation. Her repeated requests for confirmation and clarification show her surprise to hear Jimin’s statement, which Jimin reconfirms by repeating her evaluation: ‘it is okay’ (*ney kwaynchanh-ayo*).

It is interesting that Jimin situates her argument in the earlier discussion of different holiday cultures that everyone co-constructed instead of denying the problematization of gender ideologies by Youngbee. Jimin suggests an alternative perspective to view it as cultural difference, which allows her to create space to construct transnational and hybrid self with capability of understanding different cultures. Hyemin, however, evaluates Jimin’s stance as an extreme case of ‘the infinite positivity’ (*mwuhan kungceng-i-pnia, mwuhan kungceng*) and thus deviant rather than a legitimate stance toward the topic. She then explains the meaning of the word *mwuhan* (‘infinite’), and when the students indicate their understanding of the word meaning, she amplifies her earlier comment on Jimin’s stance as ‘infinite positivity’ by repeating the adverb *nemwu* (‘too, too’) which indicates excessiveness. Of particular interest here is that what is being constructed as deviant in this excerpt may actually be more acceptable in the

hegemonic discourses of gender ideologies in Korea (Lee, 2010; Kim, 2012; Lee, 2013). By evaluating Jimin's comment as abnormal, hence, Hyemin discursively resist against the hegemonic patriarchal gender ideologies and aligns with Youngbee.

Resistance against the positioning as a “obedient wife”

Similar to Youngbee's story yet more serious, Eunhee shared a story of the fight between her and her husband in resisting gendered identities imposed on her in the following Excerpt 10, which occurred during the coffee talk with Eunhee, Sophie, Elena, Maiko, and me in July 2014.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Children	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Maiko (MK)	2007	Late 30's	Japan	1	ESL school in New Zealand	- Bachelor's degree in Japan - Full-time housewife - Husband works for a corporation
Sophie (S)	2008	Late 20's	Cambodia	1	Through an agency	- Middle school graduate - Farms with her mother-in-law and works as a part-time multicultural lecturer - Husband: farmer
Eunhee (EH)	2007	Late 20's	Cambodia	2	Through an agency	- High school graduate - Part-time multicultural lecturer at public schools and a part-time interpreter at the center - Husband: farmer
Elena (EL)	2008	Early 40's	Korean diaspora born in Uzbekistan and raised in Russia (<i>goryeoin</i>)	2	In Russia. Husband worked at a Russian branch of a Korean corporation	- Master's in TESOL and Russian in Korea - After-hour teacher in Russian and English at a public high school - Husband works for a major corporation

When her husband invited his sister to move in to live with them without discussing it with Eunhee, she forced him to choose between her and his sister as her first resistance after marriage. He justified his choice by drawing on Eunhee's positionality as a novice member of

Korea by insisting that Eunhee lacked competence in Korean, skills to cook Korean food, and abilities to do multiple things in Korea. When he chose his sister and daunted her to leave the house, she really left him without a notice.

Excerpt 10: "I Left Home, and He Kneeled Down." (07/15/2014, Coffee shop)

- 1 EH: mwe al-ass-eyo: ce cip-ey naka-lkey-yo. >kulayse<
DM know-PST-POL I.HUM home-to go out-I will-POL so
- 2 ku ttay manhi (.2) ssaw-ess-eyo. kulayse caki (.) a: ni
that time much fight-PST-POL so himself ah you.INT
- 3 ka-ko siph-umyen ka[↑]-la. >kulayse< ce: kunyang,
go-want to-if go-PLN.IMP so I.HUM just
- 4 (.8) [ha (.hh) (.)
So I said "I got it. I'll just leave home," so we had a big fight that time. So he said "Ah, if you want to leave, go!" So I just... Ha...
- 5 EL: [(hh)
- 6 EH: kunyang ka pely-ess-ci(h) ka-se: han tal tongan [mal-
just go complete-PST-SUP go-and then one month during word-
So I just left. For one month. A word,
- 7 J: [a::
- 8 EH: mal epsi kunyang ka pely-ess-e=
word without just go complete-PST-INT
I just left without a word.
- ((Elena asked if Eunhee had children when it happened, and Eunhee And Sophie explained it happened only a couple month ago.))
- 9 EH: =[ne:(h)mwu a (.5) cam mos ca-yo
too ah sleep cannot to sleep-POL
Too, ah... I cannot sleep.
- 10 EL: [ung:
Um.
- 11 EH: sey si kkaci ca-ko >kulayse< yeses si-ey
three o'clock until sleep-and so six o'clock-at
- 12 ilena-ko: hoysa ka-canh-ayo. kuntay ayki sayngkak-i
get up-and company go-you know-POL but baby thought-SUB
- 13 na-se:
occur-so
I couldn't sleep until 3 o'clock, woke up at 6 and go to work, you know. But my babies are on my mind, so
(.8)

- 14 EL: a ayki-nun namphyen cip-ey:=
ah baby-TOP husband house-at
Ah, the kids were home with the husband.
- 15 EH: =ney. >kulayse< (.) kyeyso (.) wul-ess-e pam ttay-mata.
yes.POL so constantly cry-PST-INT night time-every
- 16 (.2) kuntay: kapcaki cenhwa wa-ss-eyo caki calmos
but suddenly phone come-PST-POL himself wrong
- 17 [hay-ss-ta ko:
do-PST-DC-QT
Yes, so I constantly cried, every night. But then he suddenly called to say he was wrong.
- 18 EL: [ung:
Um.
- 19 MK: [e:
Oh.
- 20 EH: kulayse (.) ppalli o-la-ko: >kulayse< ce mos
so quickly come-IMP.PLN-QT so I.HUM cannot
- 21 ka-nta: an ka-nta: [kuntay ka-ko siph-untay[(hh)
go-PLN.DC not go-PLN.DC but go-want to-but
- 22 J: [cal ha-sy-ess-ney(hh)
well do-HON-PST-APP
Good job. ((Laughs))
- 23 S,MK: [(hhh)
- 24 EL: [ung::
Um.
- 25 EH: [(hh)ayki- ayki ttaymwuney(h):
baby baby because of
((Laughs)) because of my kids,
- 26 J: [tangcang ka-ko siph-ciman(h)
right away go-want to-but
You wanted to go right away, but
- 27 EH: (.hh) kuntay caki calmos hay-ss-ta-ko: mwuluph-kkaci:
but he wrong do-PST-PLN.DC-QT kee-evn
- 28 kulehkey: mweya: (.4) (XXX)-to iss-eyo >kulay< ppalli
like that DM -also exist-POL so quickly
- 29 wa-la: ayki ni eps-umyen an toy-nta-ko
come-PLN.IMP baby you.PLN not exsit-if not okay-PLN.DC-QT
- 30 [hay-se:
say-so
But he said he was wrong, even knees. (xxx) as well. So because he said "Come back right away. Kids cannot live without you"

- 31 EL,MK: [ung::
Um.
- 32 EH: >kulse< na an ka-nta. (.) na sinwui kathi
so I.PLN not go-PLN.DC I.PLN sister-in-law together
- 33 sal-myen an kantako hay-se >kulse< caki (.) al-ss-e:
live-if not go-PLN.DC-QT say-so so he know-PST-INT
- 34 sinwui palo ponay-keyss-[°ta° ha-nikka:
sister-in-law immediately send-will-PLN.DC say-because
So because I said "I won't go. If we live with your sister, I won't go," he (said) "I got it. I'll have her move out, so"
- 35 EL: [a::
Ah.
- 36 EH: ni-ka ppalli tulewa-la:: kulayse (.)
you.PLN-SUB quickly come in-PLN.IMP so
- 37 an ha-nta: sinwui palo ka-myen ce
not do-PLN.DC sister-in-law immediately go-if I.HUM
- 38 tuleka-lkey: kulay-se caki ce myech pen chinkwu
go in-will.INT say-so himself I.HUM several time friend
- 39 cip-ey wa-se: sey pen (.) mwe nolko:
house-to come-and then three time DM hand out-and
"Come back quickly." So I said "I won't. I will come back as soon as she leaves," and he came to my friend's place to hang out about three time, and
- 40 J: o::
Oh.
- 41 EH: =>kulse< sinwui: naka- (.) naka(.)-camaca: ce
so sister-in-law go out go out-as soon as I.HUM
- 42 palo °tuleka-ss-eyo.°
immediately go in-PST-POL
So as soon as my sister-in-law left, I went back home.
- 43 MK: o::
Oh.

To her husband who chose his sister, she told him she would leave as he wished. In quoting her husband's response to her, she indicates his anger poured upon her with the amplified volume and higher pitch. Also, her quoting shows different speech levels she uses toward her husband and he does to Eunhee, which shows the asymmetrical power relation in their relationship, for she speaks to him in polite speech level while he speaks to her in plain

speech level that lacks politeness (Sohn, 1995). She also refers to herself as *ce*, a humble form of *na* ('I'), and he also addresses her as *ni* ('you') which is a plain form of the second person pronoun. At the beginning of the story, she commented it was the first fight they had after she had kept it to herself for one year, which also shows the power asymmetry in their relationship. Furthermore, he is approximately 20 years older than her and is a breadwinner of their family. After quoting her husband's taunting her to leave the house, she exhales a big sigh after 0.8-second-long pause, indicating her emotional struggle. She continues her story after a short pause; when she was forcefully positioned as an obedient wife and sister-in-law without the right to speak, she decided to resist against such positioning. When she finally decided to take an action, she could afford her resistance through her social networks with other transnational Cambodians in Insan. Her friend who was separated from her husband accommodated Eunhee when she left home, and another Cambodian friend introduced her to a local company (Coffee talk, 07/15/2014). In describing her decision to take an action 'I just left home for one month without saying anything to her husband' (*kunyang ka pelyessci kase han tal tongan mal- mal epsi kunyang ka pelyesse*), she uses the auxiliary verb *pelita*, which shows the speaker's perception of the event as complete once and for all (Sohn, 1999), and the suppositive suffix *-ci-*, emphasizing her determination and foregrounding her agency.

Her story, however, takes a different direction as she describes her struggle with leaving her children behind with her use of the adverb *nemwu* ('too') with elongation, accompanied with a sigh that shows her struggle. She says she could not sleep, stayed up until three in the morning, and could not focus on work since she kept thinking of her children and constantly cried every night. From an agentive wife who fights for her right to speak, her narrative shifts to constructing her identity as a loving mother who cannot stop thinking of her children. Furthermore, her

identity as a mother also led her husband to valuing her position in the family, for he called her and persuaded her to return home. He ‘said he was wrong’ (*caki calmos haysstako*) and told her to ‘come back soon’ (*kulayse ppalli olako*), as quoted by Eunhee. When she quotes his apology for his wrong doing, Elena and Mayumi simultaneously provide acknowledging response ‘Oh’ and ‘Um’ with elongation and stress. Eunhee then quotes herself rejecting his apology and insisting she cannot and will not go back (*ce mos kanta an kanta*) even if she wanted to go back (*kuntay kako siphuntey*). Again, her determination to resistance is emphasized as she reports her firm stance even after her husband’s apology. After she quotes her rejection, all the participants simultaneously overlap with her following comment on her wish to return home; the researcher makes a supporting comment to Eunhee’s decision ‘well done’ (*cal hasyessney*), Sophie and Mayumi laugh, and Elena says ‘Um’ with elongation. Eunhee then provides the account for her wish to return, which is her children (*ayki ttaymwuney*).

Her story develops to the next phase where she emphasizes her husband’s sincere apology and her negotiation with him on her sister-in-law’s moving out. She says ‘but even with (his) knees (kneeled)’ (*mwuluph-kkaci kulehkey*), which must be a dramatic change in their power relations considering the power asymmetry. She quotes another statement of her husband that emphasizes the importance of her presence in family as a mother: ‘babies are not okay without you’ (*ayki ni eps-umyen an toyntako*). However, she continued her resistance by reminding him that if they were to live with his sister, she wouldn’t go home (*na an kanta. na sinwui kathi salmyen an kantako hayse*), which he explicitly agreed and promised to have his sister moved out. Eunhee, however, clarified her stance by telling him she will return after his sister moves out, not the other way. Finally, she concludes her story that ends with her return home upon her sister-in-law’s moving out. Her resistance was successful as he acknowledged her

position in the family who is needed for their children's sake. Her maternal identity portrayed by herself and emphasized by her husband, therefore, seems to be both struggle in her resistance and an affordance to her negotiation.

While the excerpts in this section illustrated clear discursive resistance against hegemonic gendered ideologies on marriage women in Korea, there are plenty of discursive practices where their resistance and negotiation are neither as explicit nor simple. To understand the complex and multifaceted negotiation between self-imagined and others-imposed gendered identities, the next section will discuss how the women navigate among multiple affordances and constraints in negotiating gendered identities.

7.2.2. Negotiation of Gendered Identities: Constrained Agency

As marriage immigrant women left their jobs and social networks in their home countries when they migrated to Korea, their positions can be marginalized in their relationship with husband as well as in a new community. Lack of such economic and social capitals as a novice member of Korean society may be an obstacle to realization of their imagined selves or resistance against the imposition of ideologies. As the value of capitals shifts with their migration, however, transnational women's capitals may be devalued and unrecognized on one hand, or they may become more valuable in a new country on the other hand. The analyses in this section will illustrate how the women negotiate among gendered identities and ideologies by exercising or compromising agency depending on affordance and constraints. In some contexts, they may compromise their agency and imagined identities to resist other imposed identities while they may also develop strategies to exercise agency through the process of negotiation.

Between a Loving Mother and a Marginalized Wife

The following Excerpt 11 is extracted from the same day coffee talk as Excerpt 10 after Maiko and Elena left to pick up their children from the day care center and elementary school. I told Eunhee I was happy that she expressed her feelings and that her husband heard her voice, and she elaborated on a different aspect of the story with a focus on the conflict within herself as a mother and a wife. She compared her decision to her friend's, who chose to leave both her children and husband. Her friend recommended Eunhee think carefully before she decides to return to her family since she would lose freedom and have to take care of children, husband, and in-law families again. Eunhee listed benefits of living as a single woman who is free to do anything of her desire without obligations to serve others and then provided her reason to return home regardless of the struggles.

Excerpt 11: "For My Baby. As Long As My Sister-in-law's Gone." (Continued)

- 1 EH: kunyang ayki milay-eyse: ayki wihayse (.4) hay-ya toy-nta-ko:
just baby future-in baby for do-must-PLN.DC-QT
- 2 kuleh- (.2) ayki eps-umyen: (.2) naka-l swu iss-ta.
be so- baby not have-if go out-can-PLN.DC
- 3 nay mal hay-ss-e. kuntey enni-nun: sayngkak
I.PLN word say-PST-INT but sister-TOP thought
- 4 cal hako: tuleka-la-ko: [hay-ss-nuntey.
well do-and go in-PLN.IMP-QT say-PST-but
*But in my kids' future, for my kids, I thought I have to. If
I didn't have kids, I can leave, I said. But my friend told me to
Go back after thinking thoroughly. But*
- 5 J: [ung:
Um.
- 6 EH: >kuntey namphyen< yaksok, (.) an cikhy-eyo:=
but husband promise not keep-POL
But my husband doesn't keep his promise.
- 7 J: =an cikhyeyo tto¿=
not keep-POL again
Not keeping (his promise) again?
- 8 EH: =ney. (.5) cheum-ey yaksok manhi hay-se a: ppalli cip tul-
yes.POL first-at promise much do-so ah quickly home ent-

- 25 **mal manhi an ha-nikka: phayn- phaynci sse-se**
 language much not do-because lett- letta write-and then
- 26 **cwu-ko (hh)**
 give-and
Yes. Personality also. Do not nag much, and... I wrote a letter because I don't speak (Korean) well, and
- ((J asks if he wrote a letter, and Eunhee says he didn't. Sophie and J jokingly comment Eunhee should have made him sign and affix a seal on the letter.))
- 27 EH: **kuntey cikum: °kwayn°chanha (.) kunyang cikum kathi**
 but now be okay.INT just now together
- 28 **an sa-nikka-n: mwetun ta cham-ul swu iss-e.**
 not live-because-TOP anything all endure-can-INT
But now, because we don't live with her, it's okay. I can put up with anything.
- 29 J: **ku sinwui-nun kulay-to an kyeysi-nikka-n: ccom**
 DM sister-in-law-TOP be so-also not exist-because-TOP a little
- 30 **nas-ki-nun ha-si-keyss-ta ku-chyo.**
 better-NOM-TOP do-HON-I guess-PLN.DC be so-SUP.POL
It must be better since your sister-in-law is not there at least, right?

Eunhee quotes her own speech to her friend ‘if I didn’t have kids, I can leave. But for my kid’s future, I have to go’ (*ayki wihayse hayya toyntako kuleh- ayki epsumyen nakal swu issta*). Here, she discursively performs and foregrounds the identity of a self-sacrificing mother whose priority is her children’s future. Her maternal identity both constructed by herself and by her husband in this incident eventually led to her realization of her maternal identity as a weapon, which she mentioned in other parts of the conversation. According to her, her identity as mother allows her to assert her voice be heard “by leaving children and husband behind because the husband eventually has to listen to me because the children need a mother.” In other words, she has learned that her maternal identity can function as affordance to exercise agency and resist against unwanted imposition of ideologies.

Her next turn, however, discusses lack of her husband's effort to change after her return (*namphyen yaksok an cikhyeyo*). Even though she insisted he 'think of and respect her as his wife' (*ce anay sayngkakhay cweyo, cenun tangsin anayipnita sayngkakhay cwuseyyo*) and 'inform her when making big life decisions such as buying a house or a car' (*manyakey khun il issumyen, manyakey cip sakena animyen cha sakena cehantey yayki com hay cweyo pwupwunikka yayki com hay cwuseyyo*) instead of deciding by himself, his behavior did not change. Same as the previous excerpts, she speaks in the polite speech level with the humble form to refer to herself (*ce*), which indicates power asymmetry between the two. Furthermore, her requests deploy the benefactive construction with *-e/a cwu-*, which "denotes benefaction towards the recipient" (Sohn, 1999, p. 384), followed by the subject honorific *-usi-*. In such construct, her husband is the honored subject who is also positioned as agent that does something for the recipient's, which is Eunhee, benefits. The power asymmetry still exists between the two, which can be an account for his lack of efforts in that he can afford to exercise his power and refuse to perform as requested. Of particular interest is her final remarks on his unwillingness to keep his promise when she says 'it is okay now since we don't live with his sister. I can put up with anything' (*kuntey cikum kwaynchanha kunyang cikum kathi an sanikkan mwetun ta chamul swu isse*). Although her resistance was only partially successful in that her voice as a wife equal to her husband failed to be accepted and practiced in their relationship, she evaluates the status quo as satisfactory (*kwaynchanha*) because her sister-in-law moved out. In the following parts of the same coffee talk, Eunhee compared her mother-in-law, who is easygoing and understanding, and her sister-in-law, who is demanding and disrespectful. In Eunhee's life, therefore, her sister-in-law was the person who reinforced patriarchal gender ideologies of an obedient daughter-in-law upon her. Her negotiation thus shows her agency in achieving success in her resistance to

have the right to speak as a wife, performing maternal identities both self-constructed and husband-positioned, and accepting the gendered ideology of asymmetrical power relations between husband and wife. Similar to Eunhee's complex gendered identity negotiation, the following excerpt shows Yuni's negotiation of self-imagined identities as a career woman and other-imposed identities as a primary care giver in the family.

Between Economic Independence and Living with In-Laws

In the following Excerpt 12, Hyemin, the teacher of the KSL class, and Yuni discuss Yuni's career plan during a regular class while other women are working on the textbook assignment.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Children	Context of Meeting Husband	Occupation in Korea
Yuni (YN)	2006	Mid 20's	Vietnam	1	During husband's trip in Vietnam	- High school - Worked at an international marriage agency part-time - Husband works for a corporate

Prior to the excerpt, Hyemin checked on the age of Yuni's son, who will enter an elementary school the following year, and suggested Yuni pursue her career or start college education as she had planned upon her arrival in Korea. Hyemin asked Yuni whether she has discussed her plan to pursue college education with her husband, and Yuni answered she was absolutely against the idea, which Hyemin initially misunderstood as her husband's opposition to the idea. Yuni explained that she was opposed to idea. Hyemin and Yuni have known each other for approximately five years, and this was not the first time they discussed the matter during my data collection. At the time of this interaction, Yuni was taking a training course and studying for

the bar exam to become a city tour guide. In 2013, Hyemin told me how remarkably supportive Yuni's husband was of her academic and professional pursuit. There, however, seems to have been a change in Yuni's perspective or relationship with her husband. Yuni expresses her reluctance to work or enter a college, refusing to receive financial help from her husband.

Excerpt 12: "I Don't Want His Help." (11/27/2014, Classroom)

- 1 YN: **celtay pantay.=**
absolute opposition
Absolutely against it.
- 2 H: **=kule:myen [hakkyo:lul**
be so-if school-OBJ
Then school,
- 3 YN: **[waynya:myen ilha-myen (.5) sitayk kunche-ey**
because to work-if in-law house nearby-to
- 4 **isa hatunka ani-myen kunyang (.5) >kule-nikka< il ha:myen**
move-or not-if just be so-because to work-if
- 5 **sitayk-ey:: (.) kunche:ey [sa- isa-lul kako,**
in-law house-to nearby-to li- moving-OBJ go-and
Because if I work we move to close to my in-law or we just stay,
so if I work we move to my in-law
- 6 H: **[isa-lul hatunka**
moving-OBJ do-or
- 7 YN: **animyen kunyang yeki sa-nun ke.**
not-if just here live-RL thing
Or just staying here.
- 8 H: **a kulay-yo?**
oh to be so-POL
Oh really?
- 9 YN: **i coken iss-e. >kulayse< tway-ss-e**
this condition there is-INT so to be okay-PST-INT
- kunyang cip-ey iss-e(h) an hay(h).=**
just home-at to be-INT not do-INT
This was (his) condition, so (I said) never mind. (I'll) just
stay home. I won't (work).
- 10 H: **=kule-myen: kongpwulul: ha-keyss-ta lako ha-sey-yo.**
to be so-if studying-OBJ do-will-PLN.DC QT say-HON-POL
Then tell him you will study.

(1.5)

- 11 YN: **kong:pwu:=**
studying
- 12 H: **=Yuni ssi cikum (.) ku: (.5) yakkan casin epse-se:**
Yuni HON now DM a little confidence do not have-so
an kallyeko ha-si-nun kes-to iss-cyo.
not go-intend to-HON-RL thing-also there is-SUP.POL
Yuni, you are hesitant also because you don't feel confident, right?
- 13 YN: **casin anicyo: ton epse-se**
confidence not-SUP.POL money not have-because
- 14 **[kuleh-ci (hhh)**
to be so-SUP.INT
Not about confidence. It's because I don't have money.
- 15 H: **[ton epse-se? a:**
money not have-because ah
Because you don't have money? Oh.
- 16 YN: **casin?un ani-ko ce-nun kongpwuha-nun ke cohahay-yo.**
confidence-TOP not-and I.HUM-TOP to study-RL thing to like-POL
Not about the confidence, I do like studying.
- 17 **(.) [(xx)**
- 18 H: **[e:**
Ah
- 19 YN: **kunyang cey-ka ton- pe-nun ton ceyka hanun ke**
just I.HUM-SUB money to earn-RL money I.HUM-SUB to do-RL thing
- 20 **hako siph-e. (.) [namphyen-i hanun ke-n ccom.**
to do-want-INT husband-SUB to do-RL thing-TOP a little
I just want to do something I do on my own, to make money. Having my husband (pay for it) is a bit...
- 21 H: **[ung:**
- 22 YN: **nacwungey ton: ss- ss- ssawu-l il iss-umyen tto. (.)**
later money fi- fi- fight-RL occasion there is-if also
- 23 **him:tul-e (hhh)**
difficult-INT
If there is an occasion to fight, it also gets challenging.
- 24 H: **a:**

In line 1, Yuni clarifies the firm opposition to the idea of working outside home. In the following turn as she overlaps with Hyemin, she provides an account by saying 'because'

(*waynyamyen*). She says her husband suggested a ‘condition’ (*coken*) wherein he would allow her to work outside home: moving closer to his parents’ house so his parents can look after their son while she is at work. If she refuses the condition, they will live their current place and she will stay as a full-time housewife and take care of their son. Her next self-quote shows her clear resistance against the idea of moving closer to her in-laws: *tway-ss-e kunyang cip-ey iss-e an hay* (‘Never mind. Just stay home. I won’t’). In so doing, she represents the decision to stay as full-time housewife and mother as her own choice. The ‘absolute opposition,’ therefore, was her resistance against moving close to the in-law family. Among gendered identities of a daughter-in-law, a primary care giver (a full-time housewife and a mother), and a career woman, she shows the strongest resistance against the identity of a daughter-in-law, which posits constraints in realizing her desired identity as a career woman. The constraints in local contexts and lack of economic capital as an immigrant who had to depend on her spouse upon her migration, therefore, leads her to compromise her agency and accepts a midway, to stay as a full-time housewife and a mother.

Hyemin returns to her original suggestion to enter college to which Yuni also shows reluctance. To understand Yuni’s insights, Hyemin elicits Yuni’s elaboration on her reluctance by asking if it derives from her personal lack of confidence. Yuni disagrees with her assumption and attributes her reluctance to lack of money. She deploys the suppositive *-ci-* twice, emphasizing her commitment to her argument, which Hyemin seems to have difficulty easily agreeing in that she is aware of Yuni’s relatively high socioeconomic status because her husband is an employee at a large corporation. Yuni’s rationale to refuse to pursue college education is elaborated in her next turn when she expresses her desire to earn money and become financially independent from her husband. She continues with her argument against pursuing college with

his support; receiving husband's financial help will marginalize her position in their relationship if they argue. Her negotiation illuminates her juggling with personal desires, constraints, gender ideologies, and gendered identities. Despite her agency in her discursive construction of negotiating and compromising gendered identities, her agency is limited by hegemonic gender ideologies on women as primary care-giver for children and lack of her economic capital in the relationship. As discussed in Menard-Warwick (2007), therefore, her negotiation shows women's agency in accepting and performing imposed gender identities as well as resisting them.

After the interaction above, Hyemin returned to the linguistic lesson. At the end of the class, however, Hyemin suggested all the women in class achieve their personal goals in order to be treated equally and respected by their husbands, in that Korean men may look down upon their wives when they consider their wives too dependent. Upon Hyemin's suggestion, Yuni told a story about her friend who recently started working and making money that resonate with Hyemin's argument. Hyemin asks Yuni if she refuses to receive her husband's financial support because it will damage her confidence. Answering to the question, Yuni shares a story of her friend whose husband's attitude has dramatically changed after she started making money in the following Excerpt 13. By telling the story, Yuni further provides her accounts for her own desire to earn money.

Excerpt 13: "Her Husband Cannot Tell Her What to Do Any More." (Continued)

1 YN: nunglyek eps-umyen com casinkam(.)-to [eps-canha-yo.
 ability not have-if DM confidence-also not have-you know-POL
 You don't feel confident if you don't have ability, you know.

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2 H:                                     [ung:
                                     yes-INT
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3 YN: >kulenkka< tto. tto mwusi pat-ul-kka pwa:
 to be so-because also also ignoring receive-RL-Q

- 4 [kulen ke-to sayngkak tul-e. yey-
 such thing-also thought enter-INT yes-POL
*So, (I am concerned) I may be looked down upon (by him), so
 there is that too.*
- 5 H: [ung:
 Um.
- 6 YN: Yura enni iss-canha-yo ku (.)
 Yura sister there is-you know-POL that
- 7 ayki epko [iss-nun
 baby carrying on the back-RL
 You know Yura, who has her baby on her back?
- 8 H: [a: yey: macayo.
 oh yes right-POL
- 9 YN: ku enni: ceney-nun namphyen-i ol: ttay-mata mak
 that sister before-TOP husband-SUB come-RL time-every DM
- 10 pap tal-la hay-ss-eyo. [kuntay icey ton pe-nikka:
 meal give-IMP say-PST-POL but now money earn-because
 *Her husband used to ask her for dinner as soon as he got home,
 but now since she earns money,*
- 11 H : [ey.
 Yes-POL
- 12 YN: pap talla soli-to an hako: [kulen ke-y iss-eyo.
 meal give-IMP sound-also not say-and such thing-SUB there is-POL
 He doesn't tell her to give him dinner.
- 13 H: [ney macayo. ney kulen
 yes-POL right-POL such
- 14 ke-y iss-eyo.
 thing-SUB there is-POL
 Yeah, there is that (effect, change).
- 15 YN: tto: mwe- mwe ha-la-ko ha-yto: [icey (.5)
 also what what do-IMP-QT say-even if now
 Also, even when she tells him to do this and that, now
- 16 H: [ung:
- 17 YN: mal mos hay-yo. (.) [ku cansoli-to mos hako.
 speech cannot say-POL DM nagging-also cannot do-and
 He can't say anything, and he can't nag her either.
- 18 H : [ung: macayo macayo.
 yes-INT right-POL right-PO
 Yesh, you're right. Right.
- 19 YN: [ilkhey mwusi an ha[ko °kulen ke-y iss-e°.
 like this ignoring not do-and such thing there is-INT
 There is that, like he doesn't look down upon her either.

- 20 H: [ey [ey yakkan kulen key isseyo.
yes-POL yes-POL a little such thing exist-POL
Yeah, it's kind of like that.
- 21 YN: kungkka yeca-nun ton pel swu iss-umyen [ccom:
so woman-TOP money earn-can-if a little
So if women can make money, kind of
- 22 H: [ney.
Yes.
(1.0)
- 23 H: macayo.
right-POL
You're right.
- 24 YN: wichi hako: [ta tall-ayo.
position and all different-POL
Everything is different like her position and all.
- 25 H: [ney: ney: macayo
yes-POL be right-POL
- 26 wichi hako ilen key talla-cye-yo
position and this sort thing-SUB different-become-POL
- 27 cip-an (.) [eyes-uy wichi-to tallacyeyo.
home-inside at-of position-also different-become-POL
Yeah, right. Her position and such changes, her position in the family as well. It changes.
- 28 YN: [ney ney
Yes, yes.
- 29 YN: ceney-n [namphyen o-camaca pap tal-la-ko
before-TOP husband come-as soon as mean give-IMP-QT
Before, husband told her to fix dinner for him as soon as coming home
- 30 H: [ney
Yes.
- 31 YN: pap an cwunyako mak kulay-ss-nuntey: [icey-n
meal not give-Q-QT DM say-PST-but now-TOP
He would ask if she wouldn't make dinner for him, but now
- 32 H: [yocum kulen mal
recently such speech
- 33 [an hanta: [a:
not say-PLN.DC oh
But he doesn't say such things these days. Oh.
- 34 YN: [mal (h) [(hh)
Speech
(Doesn't) say... ((Laughs))

Yuni says if one does not have economic abilities, she can also lack self-confidence: ‘you don’t feel confident if you don’t have ability, you know’ (*nunglyek eps-umyen com casinkam-to eps-canha-yo*). Confidence, which was brought about by Hyemin earlier in the class is made relevant to Yuni’s lack of economic capital by Yuni herself in this excerpt. She then further elaborates on her refusal to pursue college education with her husband’s money; it is also because she is concerned she ‘may be looked down upon’ (*mwusi pat-ul-kka pwa*) by her husband. In her next turn, she tells a story about her friend Yura whose position changed in her family after she started working. She contrasts Yura’s position and her husband’s attitude between “before” (*cen-ey-nun*) she started working and “now” (*icey*), which she attributes to Yura’s economic capital (*ton pe-nikka*). Yuni then gives specific examples of the change; ‘he doesn’t tell her to fix meals’ (*pap talla soli-to an hako*), ‘and he can’t nag her’ (*cansoli-to mos hako*) even when she asks him to do something (*mwe ha-lako hay-to*), ‘and he doesn’t look down upon her’ (*mwusi an hako*).

By telling her friend’s story, Yuni creates space to express her desire to gain economic capital to have more voice in her relationship as her friend did. To Yuni’s storytelling, Hyemin shows agreement by co-completing the sentences and constantly providing positive comments such as *ney mac-a-yo* (‘yes, right’), *ney kulen ke-y iss-e-yo* (‘yes, it’s like that’), *macayo* (‘right, right’), and *ey yakkan kulen key iss-e-yo* (‘yeah, it’s kind of like that’). After finishing the story, Yuni adds a concluding remark ‘so if a woman can make money, her position and everything change’ (*kungkka yeca-nun ton pel swu iss-umyen ccom wichi hako ta tall-a-yo*). Her storytelling and interactions with Hyemin thus show the complex negotiations between her agency and imposition of gendered identities. Both her agency and the social constraints are shown in discussing the imagined self as a financially independent woman, resistance against having

stronger identity as a daughter-in-law, and her husband's imposition of gendered identities of a mother.

Yuni's identity negotiation and compromise illustrate social constraints marriage immigrant women undergo with lack of capitals in a new community. Although she strongly desires to become economically independent to acquire an equal position to her husband's in their relationship, she opposed to the intensified identity of a daughter-in-law and eventually compromised to maintain the status quo as a full-time housewife. Her positionality in Korea as a Vietnamese marriage immigrant woman whose financial and legal statuses depend on her spouse with limited capitals to utilize in a local job market seems to posit challenging constraints to achieving self-imagined identities. Furthermore, as she lacks educational credentials both in Korea and in Vietnam, Hyemin regards it as an additional obstacle that limits Yuni's agency. Consequently, Hyemin repeatedly encourages Yuni to pursue college education to earn the Bachelor's degree to build a professional career in Korea. To do so, however, Yuni has to depend on her husband's financial assistance, which will further diminish her position in the family. As a result, despite her desire to work outside home, she compromised and decided to stay home. A few months after the conversation, however, Yuni and her husband became separated, and she moved out (Interview with teacher, 07/11/2014).

Whereas Yuni and Eunhee struggle from lack of capital to exercise agency as their linguistic and economic capital are unrecognized in their transnational spaces, there are those whose linguistic and cultural capitals from their home countries are recognized as more legitimate and valuable in Korea than they did in home countries. For instance, Elena earned a Bachelor's degree in English education in Russia and earned a Master's degree in TESOL in Korea. Combined with her educational credentials from both countries, Russian was also valued

in her career. She currently teaches both Russian and English at a local high school. Furthermore, her Korean proficiency is relatively higher than other participants, for her home language in Russia was a regional variation of Korean. In addition to her career, she was also volunteering at an immigration office of the city (Classroom recording, 10/30/2014). Similarly, Mayumi and Asako always worked as Japanese language instructors until they were pregnant (Coffee talk, 07/17/2013) although neither of them had professional and academic knowledge in teaching Japanese before their migration. In other words, linguistic capital and educational credentials of Elena, Mayumi, and Asako became recognized as legitimate assets for their career after migration, possibly more so than in their home countries. Youngbee also has such capital; however, as other elements of her identities are delegitimized by others, she struggles with unwanted positionality as “a marriage immigrant woman.”

Foregrounding gendered identity to gain legitimacy

While the previous excerpts show of this section women's constrained agency and the role of capital in their attempt to resist and negotiate among imposed gendered identities as obedient daughters-in-law, wives, and mothers they encounter in daily interactions, the next excerpt discursively challenge the policy discourse and systemic marginalization of immigrants in cases of divorce by foregrounding their identities as mothers. During a regular linguistic lesson, the topic of adaptation to Korean culture surfaced. Hyemin asked about the aspects of Korean culture that women still find strange even after living in Korea for a while. When it was her turn, Hyesoo²⁰, who is from Vietnam, questions the rationale for the custody in case of a divorce of a multicultural family. According to her, the Korean father always seems to have an advantage in custody after the divorce although immigrant women can claim the custody by winning the divorce case in the court to prove that their divorce attributes to the husband's fault (e.g., infidelity, violence, etc.), or they can remain in Korea once the court approves their residency for the purpose of raising children. Hyemin responds to her complaint by explaining these possibilities to gain the custody, which Hyesoo acknowledges but disapproves. H refers to Hyemin, and Hyesoo is abbreviated as S in the excerpt.

Excerpt 14: "We're Mothers of Our Children." (08/19/2014, Classroom)

- 1 S: **ta: ihay-nun toy-ciman enu cengto han kaci**
 all understanding-TOP become-but some degree one kind
- 2 **ihay-nun tway: kuntay inceng an tway-yo.**
 understanding-TOP become but approval not become-POL
 I can understand all to a degree, but one thing, I can understand
 but cannot approve.
- 3 H: **a::=**

²⁰ Hyesoo is in her mid twenties and from Vietnam, and her marriage was arranged by an agency. She worked as an office staff at the center and attended the class when she had free time. During the period of my data collection, she only participated in class a few times, and I did not have opportunities to talk to her outside classroom, which is why I excluded her from the focal participants.

Ah

- 4 S: =inceng an tway. hankwuk namca-tul. Tulama-na:
approval not become.INT Korea men-PL drama-or
- 5 ani-myen silcey-lo po-nun ke-to e, (.5) imsinha-nun
be not-if reality-in see-RL thing-also um pregnant-RL
- 6 salam-ey emma-canha. himtulkey ay nah-ko mwe kulay
person-of mom-you know hard kid bore-and DM be so
- 7 tulama poko sepsep-ketun-yo emma: ihon manyakey
drama see-and hurting-you see-POL mom divorce if
- 8 ihonha-myen: khiwu-tun ci an khiwutun ci mwucoken
get divorced-if raise-or whter not raise-or unconditionally
- 9 appa ccok-ey ka-nikka kuke inceng mos hay-yo. (h)
dad side-on go-because that approval cannot do-POL
I can't approve it when I see Korean men in dramas or in Reality. (We) are the mother of the child, you know. We give birth in pain, and it hurts my feelings when watching dramas, you see. If divorced, it is completely dad's call to either raise the children or not. Because the custody goes to dad, I cannot approve it.
- 10 H: a::=
Ah.
- 11 S: =pep- pep-i-ese kulen-ka-yo? (hh)
law law-be-so be so-Q-POL
Is it that way because it's the law?
- 12 H: a: (.) [mwenka ihonha-myen-un namca [ccok-i yulihata-nun
ah DM get divorced-if-TOP man side-SUB advantaged-RL
Ah. If divorce, men are advantaged
- 13 S: [ikicek (.) ikicek: [e e
selfish selfish yes.INT
- 14 H: malssum-i-si-cy.o?
words.HON-be-HON-SUP.POL
That's what you mean, right?
- 15 S: ney ikicek
yes.POL selfish
Yeah. Selfish.
- 16 H: a:: kungkka pep-ulo ku hay-se iki-myen
ah so law-by DM do-and then win-if
- 17 (.) pwin-i teylle ol swu-to iss-eyo.=
wife-SUB bring come way-also exist-POL
Ah. if a wife wins the case in the court, she can also bring children.
- 18 S: =ihaynun ha-nuntey-yo (xx)to kuleh-ko pep-to

- understand- do-but-POL be so-and law-also
- 19 **kuleh-ko kulentey (.) mwe-ka: hankwuk namca-tul**
 be so-and but something Korea man-PL
- 20 **sayngkakha-nun ke acik ikicek:-ha-nun ke iss-eyo.**
 think-RL thing still selfish-do-RL thing exist-POL
- 21 **[(hhh)**
 I do understand, but (xx) and the law as well. But still,
 Korean men has a selfish side.
- 22 H: **[a ccom ikiceki-ko? (.) taptapha-ko?=**
 ah a bit selfish-and narrow minded-and
 Ah, a bit selfish and narrow minded?
- 23 S: **=ey ey e. (.) [nam:ca-ka**
 yes.POL yes.INT man-SUB
 Yes, men are.
- 24 S: **[um:: (.) kule-si-kwun-yo.**
 um be so-HON-APP-POL
 Um, that's how you feel, I see.
- 25 **al-keyss-supni-ta. ca kulemyen, macimak: sa pen:**
 know-I guess-DEF-DL well then last four number
- 26 **mwuncang-ul ilk-e cwu-sey-yo**
 sentence-OBJ read-BEN-HON-POL
 Um, I see. Well then, please read the last sentence in question
 number 4.

In discussing aspects of Korean culture women find incompatible with their perspectives even after living in Korea for a long period of time, Hyesoo mentions the legal advantage of the Korean spouse in divorce of a multicultural families. She ‘understands to certain extent’ (*enu cengto ihaynun tway*) but ‘cannot accept’ (*kuntety inceng an twayyo*), which she emphasizes by repeating. In expressing her unpleasant feelings and disapproving stance towards the marginalized position of immigrant spouse, Hyesoo discursively constructs her resistance by emphasizing the right of immigrant women as the mother of children, who ‘went through hardship to give birth’ (*himtulkey nahko*), and contrasts their disadvantaged position to their contribution and right. Her use of *-canh-* also shows (*imsinhanun salamey emmacanha*) her epistemological stance towards the matter and emphasizes her argument, as she constructs her

statement about the mother's right to hold custody for her own children as shared knowledge among the participants. Her disapproving stance is amplified in her repeating 'I cannot accept that' (*kuke inceng mos hayyo*).

After Hyemin's backchannel 'ah,' Hyesoo asks a factual question to Hyemin about the law. Upon Hyemin's request for clarification on Hyesoo's stance and short acknowledging backchannel 'ah,' Hyesoo makes another evaluation of Korean men as 'selfish' (*ikicek*) repeatedly. Hyemin explains that immigrant spouses, likely to be wives, can also hold the custody "if" they win the case, which actually reconfirms Hyesoo's argument about the marginalized position of immigrant women. To Hyemin's somewhat counterarguing response to Hyesoo's stance and fact-checking question, Hyesoo shows her awareness of the law yet disagrees with it. Using the topic marker *-nun* after *ihay* ('understanding') to contrast her understanding of the situation to her evaluation of it, she reconfirms her stance. As Hyemin does not show her alignment with Hyesoo's argument about the custody, Hyesoo shifts her focus to the selfishness of Korean men, foregrounding gender in the topic. Hyemin repeats Hyesoo's evaluation of Korean men as 'selfish' and adds her own interpretation of Hyesoo's comment, 'narrow-minded' (*taptaphako*). After Hyemin demonstrates her understanding of Hyesoo's argument, Hyesoo shows confirmation. Hyemin ends the conversation with a brief acknowledgement of Hyesoo's stance without further comments: 'that's how you feel, I see. I see.' (*kulesikwunyo alkeyssupnita*) and returns to the linguistic lesson.

By disapproving the law and accusing Korean men for selfishness, Hyesoo challenges the positions of Korean men as primary stake holder of multicultural families and the immigrant wives as second, and provides alternative representations of the women by foregrounding their identity as the mother of children, who holds the equal right. In so doing, the privileges of

Korean men are problematized while the systematically marginalized positions of marriage immigrant women are questioned. Her problematization of the custody issue was the second time she discussed the topic on the site during my data collection. Earlier that month, Hyesoo entered the classroom during the break time to distribute a flyer from a local activist group that is affiliated with other organizations nation-wide, who advocate and fight for marriage immigrant women's rights in Korea. The title of the flyer she circulated was 'Movement to Make Marriage Immigrant Women's "Right to Live in Korea": Supervising 'Proper Issuance of Qualification for Stay' from the Immigration Office' (*keylhonicwu-yeseng*, "*hankwuk-ey sal kwenli*" *hamkkey mantulki wuntong*: *chwulipkwuk samwuso-lo-pwuthe* "*cheilywu-cakyeck ceytaylo patki*" *kamsi hwaltong*). In policy and legal discourses that prioritize Korean fathers' right, the patriarchal nationalistic ideologies are foregrounded whereas marriage immigrants are othered and portrayed as a potential threat to Korean citizens who can take Korean children away from Koreans. In defending immigrant mothers, on the other hand, children's well-being and women's identity as a mother are foregrounded to justify their right to remain in Korea and gain the custody.

In this section, I analyzed the complex, dynamic, and discursively constructed gendered identity negotiations of marriage immigrant women, which interplay with affordances available to them as well as constraints and limit their agency in specific social and institutional contexts. The analyses illustrated that immigrant women agentively accept, perform, appropriate, or resist imposed gendered identities by navigating different ideologies and symbolic capital as well as social identities available to them in a specific context. The next section will add another dimension to their gendered identity negotiation: their in-between selves as transnationals.

7.2.3. Construction of transnational self in gendered identity negotiation

When marriage immigrant women perform, negotiate, compromise, or resist gendered identities in different contexts, they may strategically utilize existing discourses and ideologies of as well as capital that extend beyond national boundaries to their advantage in order to achieve specific interactional goals. The concept of transnationalism in today's multilingual spaces, therefore, is useful framework in research on the relationship between gender and second language learning/teaching, because language learners' identities and larger discourses interact with their language learning and socialization (Canagarajah, 1999; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004;). More specifically, the excerpts in this section illustrate how they enact the ideologies of immigrants as novice members of Korean society and construct transnational identities as affordances either to avoid imposed gendered identities or to discursively display agency.

Performing of a “Korean” daughter-in-Law

In the following classroom interaction, Mayumi, from Japan, makes an interesting comment on her strategic discursive action with her mother-in-law. Mayumi, Yuni, Hyemin, and I are present in the classroom.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Context of Meeting Husband	Language Used at Home	Occupation in Korea
Mayumi (M)	2002	Mid 30's	Japan	ESL school in Australia	English to Korean with husband, Korean and Japanese with children	- Bachelor's degree in Japan - Taught Japanese in Korea - Husband is an English teacher at a language school
Yuni (YN)	2006	Mid 20's	Vietnam	During husband's trip in Vietnam	English to Korean with husband, Korean and	- High school graduate - Worked part-time at an international marriage agency

be nailed-RL.PRE way-SUB exist-POL
If you show you know too much, you can become an object of hatred.

13 YN: **yey**
Yes.

14 M: **um**
Um.

((Hyemin explains the literal meaning and gives examples of contexts to use the expression. After she ensures everyone understood the meaning, she returns to ask about the students' experiences.))

15 M: **hankwuk wa-se-n pyello eps-nun kes**
 Korea come-then-TOP not really not have-RL.PRE thing

16 **kath[nuntey(hh)**
 be alike-but
I don't think I have since I came to Korea,

17 H: **[a ilpon-eyse-n iss-usy-ess-[-eyo(hh)**
 ah Japan-in-TOP have-HON-PST-POL
Ah, you have in Japan then?

18 M: **[molu-keyss-e(h)**
 not know-I guess

19 **hankwuk-eyse-nun(h) pyello molu-nun ke-to**
 Korea-in-TOP not really not know-RL.PRE thing-to

20 **pyello. (.) [a-nun ke-to pyello eps-ko:**
 not really know-RL.PRE thing-also not really not have-and

21 **[mwe:**
 DM
I don't know, in Korea I don't know much, there isn't much I know, and

22 H: **[a:**
Ah.

23 J: **[haha [ha**

24 YN: **[hahaha**

25 M: **[kunnyang ney: ha-ko iss-unikka[(hhhh):**
 just yes.POL say-and exist-because
Because I just say yes.

26 H: **[a ney:**
 ah yes.POL

27 **ha-ko iss.unikka(hh):=**
 say-and stay-because
Ah okay, because you just say yes.

28 M: =[kunya:ng(hh) [kunya:ng(hh) mwe kulehkey sa-nikka:(hh)
 just just DM like that live-because
 Because just, I just live like that

29 H: [a:
 Ah.

30 J: [ohilye(hh)
 Reversely

As an example of the context in which the target expression can be used, Hyemin elicits students' personal experiences by presenting Korean gender ideology that values women's modesty and obedience to the husband and parents-in-law, which consequently stigmatize women who do not fit into the category. Hyemin's use of the sentence-ending suffix *-ketun-* indicates her self-positioning as an expert by presenting the gender ideology in Korea as the information exclusively known to the speaker (Y. Chae, 1998; J. Lee, 2000; J. Shin, 2000). Yuni and Mayumi display minimal responses of 'Um' and 'Yes' without providing their personal experiences related to the expression, and Hyemin continues with the linguistic lesson of the target expression and further elaborates on its literal and contextual meanings for several turns, which is summarized in the excerpt. She then repeats her elicitation by specifying the contexts: in relationship with in-law members or elderly. Mayumi's answer, however, is rather opposite: 'I don't think I experienced it in Korea'. She interprets lack of her experience with in-law's hatred as a result of her performance as a novice member of Korean society with lack of knowledge in Korean culture. As everyone laughs with her interpretation, Mayumi continues to elaborate her discursive performance with her in-law family: 'because I just say yes' (*kunyang ney hako issunikka*). With Hyemin's repeating her comment and others' laughing, Mayumi paraphrases her comment that describes her performance of "living as obedient foreigner" in 'because I just live like that' (*kunyang mwe kulehkey sanikka*).

Of particular interest is that Mayumi actually uses the dominant discourse of immigrants as novices in the host community to emotionally cope with her mother-in-law's expectations. Instead of interpreting the ideology on immigrants as "others" to mean that she needs to assimilate to the "Korean way" of being a daughter-in-law, however, she decides to perform a passive listener in such interactions. Although she is not actively resisting the gender ideology, she constructs her seemingly obedient daughter-in-law self as performance, in that she says that she deliberately provides the minimal obedient answer "yes" for her own sake. Although this may not be resistance, as Menard-Warwick (2004) discusses in her study based on two Latina women's narratives, such a performance still displays agency. It is not only when Mayumi resists the gender ideologies but also when she seemingly accepts them and performs a seemingly good daughter-in-law that she shows agency in her narrative. In her discursively constructs herself as a woman who is aware of others' positioning of her as a novice immigrant and capable of maneuvering those positionalities and ideologies to her advantage to achieve specific interactional goals. To Mayumi, her foreigner and Korean language learner identities are affordances to resist against assimilation to become a "Korean" daughter-in-law while avoiding conflicts with her in-laws. She thus uses her transnational in-between identity as a discursive space to construct agency who "performs" a seemingly obedient daughter by navigating dominant ideologies on immigrants and gender, other-imposed identities as a novice member of Korean society, and self-constructed agentive woman with intercultural ability to utilize them.

Performing a "foreign" daughter-in-Law

Whereas Mayumi discursively constitutes her identity as a seemingly obedient daughter-in-law as agentive performance by drawing on dominant discourses on immigrants, Asako and

Chie, who is Korean diaspora born and raised in Japan, demonstrated how they use the discourses in their interactions with in-laws to avoid the identity of a “Korean” daughter-in-law.

Name	Married Since	Age	Nation of Origin	Context of Meeting Husband	Language Used at Home	Occupation in Korea
Asako (A)	2002	Early 30's	Japan	ESL school in Canada	English to Korean with husband, Korean and Japanese with children	- Bachelor degree 's in Japan - Taught Japanese in Korea - Husband works for a corporation
Chie (C)	N/A	Late 20's	Japan (Korean diaspora)	ESL school in Canada	Korean	- Bachelor's degree in Japan - Full-time housewife - Husband works for a corporation

The following interaction occurred among Asako, Chie, and the researcher (J) in 2014, the second year of my data collection, at a restaurant while having lunch. I had met Asako in 2013 when she was attending the KSL class before her twins were born, kept in touch with her and contacted her when I returned to Korea the following summer. In 2014, Asako and Mayumi invited Chie because they thought Chie would like to share her life story as a Korean diaspora in Japan. It was the only time I met Chie. Asako and Chie preferred having a language barrier with their in-law families in that it justifies their limited obligation as daughters-in-law.

Excerpt 16: “I Pretend Not to Understand, and They Don’t Expect Me to.”
(07/25/2014, Coffee shop)

- 1 A:** **iyong-** (.5) **mos** **alatutnun** **chek?**
 use- cannot understand-RL pretending
 Pretending to not understand?
- 2 J:** **ee** [(hh)
 Oh.
- 3 A:** [(hh)
- 4 J:** **a:** [:

Ah.

- 5 C: [a:: kulen ke isse[yo.
such thing exist-POL
Ah. There are times like that.
- 6 A: [mwe: (.5) yocum-un mwe ta (.)
DM recently-TOP DM all
- 7 mwe. (.5) keuy ta: mwe. (.5) icey yaykiha-si-nun ke-lul:
DM almost all DM now tell-HON-RL thing-OBJ
- 8 (.5) ta ihay:ha::nuntey, (.5) che- cheum-ey-nun (.5)
all understand-but fir- first-at-TOP
- 9 mos alatutcanhayo.
cannot understand-you know-POL
Well these days (I) almost understand what she says now, but at
first I can't understand, you know.
- 10 J: e: >e e e<
- 11 A: kunikka: (.) mwenka yaykiha-sy-eto, ((Makes a confused look))
so something tell-HON-although
So, even if she says something,
(.5)
- 12 J: (hh)
- 13 A: e(h) molu-keyss(h) (.) molu-n chek. (.5) (hh)=
yes-INT not know-I think not know-RL pretending
Um, I don't know, I pretend to not know.
- 14 J: =kum emeni-n twayssta kuleko manun(hh)
then mother-TOP okay-PST-PLN.DC say-and stop-RL
Then the mother would just say never mind.
- 15 A: ney. cyay-nun molu-nikka kwaynchanh-ta. (.)
Yes.POL that kid-TOP not know-because okay-PLN.DC
Yeah. It's okay because she doesn't know.

[(hh)
- 16 J: [a cyay-nun molunikka [kwaynchanhta
ah that kid-TOP not know-because okay-PLN.DC
Oh, it's okay because she doesn't know.
- 17 A: [a: >yey yey<
- 18 J: ney[(hh) (.) [ung.
- 19 A: [(hhh) [(hh)

(6.0) ((Everyone takes a bite of their food))
- 20 A: kungkka manyak.ey hankwuk:: >mweci< salam(.)[kkili.
so if Korea what-SUP person with one another

- 21 J: [e e
- 22 A: >kulenikka< siemeni myenuli ha-myen-un
so mother-in-law daughter-in-law do-if-TOP
- 23 malto mwe: chwungpwunhi mwe [hako:: (.hh)kukey
language-also DM enough DM do-and that-SUB
So if both mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are Korean, because she can understand the language, that would be
- 24 C: [ungungung:
Yeah, yeah, yeah.
- 25 A: to: pwutamsulewul ke katha a: alatut-ko,
more pressure-be-RL thing seem-INT understand-and
- 26 mwunhwa-to (.) mwe kunyang. [tangyenhi tangyenhi al-
culture-also DM just of course of course kn-
There will be more pressure, I think. She understands the language and culture as well, just... Of course, of course, kno-
- 27 J: [tangyenhi al-aya ha-nikka:=
of course know-must-because
Because she must surely know.
- 28 A: =[kunikka.
be so-because
Right.
- 29 C: =[ung:
Yeah.
- 30 A: tangyenhi hay-yaha-nun kes-to: hay-ya [toy-ko.
of course do-must-RL thing-also do-must-and
She also has to do things that she must without a doubt, and
- 31 C: [um: ung ung
- 32 A: >cenun kunyang ilpon salam-i-nikka:< mwe ccom
I.HUM-TOP just Japan person-be-because DM a little
As for me, because I'm Japanese, (even if) a little
- 33 C: mol-lato:=
not know-even if
Even if (we) don't know,
- 34 A: =mollato: [kunyang.
not know-even if just
- 35 C: [silswu-hay-to:
mistake-do-although
Even if we make a mistake,
- 36 A: a: [mwe.
ah DM

37 J: [mollase kulena [pota.
not know-because be so-Q.FAM see-PLN.DC
They'd see it as because you don't know.

38 A: [e
yes.INT
Yeah, because she doesn't know

39 C: [ung:
Um.

40 A: mol-lase kule-nta:=
not know-so be so-PLN.DC
It's because she doesn't know.

41 C: =[kulehkey] al-ase ihay[hay-cwe-ss-umyen.
like that know-and then understand-BEN-PST-if
(I) hope they understands that way.

42 J: =[ung:]

43 A: [ung ung ung e:
Yeah, yeah. Oh

44 [maca(hh)]
right.INT
You're right.

45 J: [ung: (.)] ung: ce-to ku sayngkakhay-ss-eyo.
Um, yeah. I.HUM-also that think-PST-POL

46 chalali kuke-y nau-l ke kathta-nun.
rather that-SUB better-RL.FUT thing seem-RL.PRE
I also thought so, that it would be better that way.

47 C: tto (.) kitaykam-to: ama eps-ul kes
also expectation-also probably not have-RL.FUT thing

48 kath-ayyo.=
seem-POL
Also, I think there is no expectations.

49 A,J: =ung:
Ah.

50 A: molu-[nikka mwe [tway-ss-ta tway-ss-ta.
not know-because DM okay-PST-PLN.DC
'Never mind, never mind. Because she doesn't know'.

51 C: [kitay an- (.) [ey.
expectation not yes-POL
They don't expect.

As an example of ‘using’ (*iyong*) their identities as non-Korean in interactions with in-laws, Asako shares her strategy of ‘pretending to not understand’ (*mos alatut-nun chek*), which is

followed by laughter of both the researcher and Asako, showing their understanding of the situation. Chie starts co-constructing with Asako's comment by confirming she also has similar experiences: 'Ah, there are times like that' (*a kulen ke iss-e-yo*). She confesses that she actually understands almost all of her in-laws' utterances but chooses to act otherwise. She then compares her current "performance" as a novice Korean language learner to the initial stage of her migration with lack of linguistic competence in Korean. Following J's laughter, Asako returns to her current state wherein she strategically "performs" a novice member of Korean community who still lacks Korean language proficiency by 'pretending to not understand'. To resist the gendered identity as a daughter-in-law, therefore, she uses the ideology that positions immigrants as incompetent novice members of the host society. In other words, she discursively utilizes the disadvantages of being a novice member of a new community (e.g., language barrier, cultural difference, lack of membership knowledge, etc.) at her advantage to avoid the unwanted gender obligations. As she talks about her performance, she also discursively positions her current self as a competent member and speaker of the Korean language who can understand not only the language but also the cultural expectations. With her accesses to different gender ideologies and multiple linguistic and cultural capital beyond the national boundary of Korea, she navigates them as affordances in her gendered identity negotiations.

J co-constructs the story by quoting an imaginary response from their mothers-in-law, 'never mind,' and Asako confirms it. Asako quotes her mother-in-law's similar response that excused Asako from the duty of a traditional daughter-in-law because Asako 'does not know' (*cyay-nun molunikka kwaynchanhta*). It seems that her mother-in-law's double standards for Korean and non-Korean daughters-in-law also reinforced Asako's strategy to perform an immigrant in their relationship, which is elaborated in Asako's next comment that contrasts her

position to that of a Korean daughter-in-law, who cannot afford to perform incompetent. She assumes the imposition may be heavier on Korean daughters-in-law in that ‘because they understand the language, there would be more pressure’ (*malto mwe chwungpwunhi mwe hako kukey to pwutamsulewul ke katha*). Chie shows her agreement to Asako’s argument: “yeah, yeah.” In addition to the linguistic competence, Asako attributes cultural competence of a Korean daughter-in-law to the possibility of heavier imposition of gender ideology on Korean women. It is taken for granted (*mwunhwa-do [...] tangyenhi al-*) that Korean women know the cultural expectations of a daughter-in-law. J also shows her agreement by co-completing the sentence: ‘because they must surely know’ (*tangyenhi al-aya ha-nikka*), displaying their shared understanding of gender ideologies imposed upon married women in Korea. In other words, they contrast their positions to Korean daughters-in-law and consider their identity as “foreign daughter-in-law” advantageous than marginalizing.

Asako then identifies herself as Japanese (‘because I’m just Japanese’) and uses her nationality as an affordance to create space to resist against “Korean ways” of being a daughter-in-law. Here, all three participants co-construct the statement to express advantages of being Japanese, or non-Korean in general, in the in-law relationship: ‘Even if (we) don’t know or make mistakes, they would see it as because (we) don’t know. Hopefully they would understand us that way.’ In their co-construction, a non-Korean daughter-in-law’s failure to conform traditional gender roles are described to be understood as lack of cultural knowledge or innocent mistakes by Korean in-law families while Korean daughters-in-law cannot afford such performance. Chie adds another advantage of being a non-Korean daughter-in-law; she considers in-laws’ expectation is significantly low and almost absent, which Asako confirms by quoting imaginary reactions of in-laws: ‘Never mind, never mind. Because she doesn’t know.’

Interestingly, Chie identifies herself with “non-Koreans” in this context instead of affiliating with her ethnic identity as Korean diaspora; she foregrounds her transnational self and backgrounds her Korean ethnic identity in order to resist against the undesirable gender obligations imposed on Korean daughters-in-law. Her identity as Korean diaspora thus functions as an affordance for her to position herself in the space of transnational Koreans and distance from the traditional Korean gender roles. On the same day, she also discussed the struggle that Korean diaspora in Japan (*jaeil gyopo*) undergo, as not only the Japanese government stigmatized them but the Korean government also neglected their rights as citizens after Korea obtained independence from Japan’s colonization. Her experience as stigmatized Korean diaspora in both countries contextualizes her self-positioning as diaspora in relation to the sociohistorical relationship between the two countries. Chie’s self-representation thus illuminates her hybrid, boundary-blurring, multifaceted identities as a transnational which constantly negotiate with imposed ideologies and discourses (De Fina & Perrino, 2013; Higgins, 2011), in that she represents herself in in-between spaces rather than identifying herself with national or ethnic boundaries. Their co-construction of selves as competent transnationals in Korea thus demonstrates their awareness of the gender ideologies in Korean in-law relations and their capability to strategically use identities, linguistic and cultural capital, and ideologies across national boundaries in order to resist gender obligations.

Gendered identity negotiations of marriage immigrant women of this study, to some degree, resemble those of Korean married women, particularly regarding in-law relations and traditional ideologies of married women (Lee, 2010; Lee, 2013). Their transnational identities, however, add another dimension to their gendered identity construction as affordances to constitute their resisting voices as legitimate and to challenge existing gendered discourses. By

discursively creating transnational spaces to distance from the imposed gendered ideologies by in-law families and larger discourses, they delegitimized and challenged the hegemonic patriarchy-influenced gendered ideologies, especially regarding patriarchy-influenced familial practices. In accepting imposed gendered identities as primary care giver of the family, they also displayed agency in navigating among constraints and possibilities in the given contexts. On the other hand, their seemingly acceptance of gendered identities as primary care giver of the family whose voice is undervalued than her husband's may be a result of their partial resistance against other gendered identity impositions, for example as daughters-in-law. On the other hand, their positionalities as immigrants can also constraint their agency in identity negotiations due to the limited social and economic capital in a new community. When their transnational identity becomes an obstacle in achieving the imagined self, their interactions highlight desires to work outside home to earn money, which they interpret as a way to exercise more agency in their relationships with husbands and in-law families. In alignment with the women's desire to earn money, Hyemin also constantly encourages them to take the TOPIK test so that they can pursue college education and find stable career.

To sum up, researchers have illustrated that immigrant women's second language learning and socialization themselves are gendered practices considering immigrant women's experiences that differ from immigrant men (Gordon, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Pavlenko, 2001). The analyses showed that marriage immigrant women's KSL socialization is also gendered. In addition, resonating with discussions on the heavy imposition of patriarchal gender ideologies on women in Korea (Lee, 2010; Lee, 2013), the analyses also illustrated the central role patriarchy-influenced gendered identities and ideologies (e.g., traditional holiday custom, ancestral ceremonies, having to obey in-law families, etc.) play in migrant women's negotiation

of gendered identities. It is important, however, to recognize that women do not always accept the dominant ideologies on gender and immigrants. Instead, they can and do exercise agency, which may be constrained by social contexts, by resisting against the dominant discourses surrounding themselves or representing alternative selves, as feminist poststructuralist sociolinguists have discussed (Higgins, 2011; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001). In their self-representation, other elements of their social identities (e.g., socioeconomic status, nationality, ethnicity, language, education, context of marriage, religion, etc.) in both their home countries and new interact with their gendered identities.

7.3. Summary

In this chapter, I examined marriage immigrant women's self-representations with focus on the transnational spaces they create in their complex and dynamic identity negotiations as 'immigrants' and 'women' living in Korea. Their self-representations occur both in response to the existing discourses on marriage immigrant women, which differs depending on other elements of their social identities, and in re-construction of alternative selves as transnationals who possess worldviews and capital that extend beyond national boundaries. In sum, while the hegemonic discourses in media and policy reinforce traditional gender ideologies as well as the integrationist worldviews on marriage immigrant women, these women can and do exercise different degrees of agency in performing and enacting as expected 'Koreanized' women, who are to be integrated into 'Korean patriarchy,' but they are reconstructing themselves as transnationals whose alternative voices are as legitimate in evaluating, challenging, and resisting hegemonic ideologies imposed on immigrants and women. Instead of representing them as a homogenous group and consequently reducing them to their race and gender, their multifaceted

identities should be recognized. Marriage immigrant women's gendered identities, therefore, interact with and are influenced by other elements of their social identities and their symbolic capitals.

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

8.0. Introduction

This dissertation investigated the discursive representations of marriage immigrant women and multicultural/multilingual spaces of South Korea that are constructed in different layers of discourses and to uncover ideologies and social orders that shape and are shaped by the discourses. The previous chapters explored the interplay of multiple ideologies and discourses different agents create regarding the identities and positioning of marriage immigrant women. In this final chapter, I briefly summarize the analytical findings in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. I then discuss the implications and contributions of the findings. Finally, I suggest possible future directions in the possible areas of this study to be further developed.

8.1. Summary of Findings

Chapter 5 examined the underlying ideologies reflected and reproduced in the policy discourse on marriage immigrant women and multicultural families of Korea by adopting CDA to investigate ideologies and social orders to understand why and how the discourses are shaped and shaping the social world. Constructed in deliberate combination of “humanitarian values and self-interest” (Van Dijk, 2008 p. 131), the policy discourses (re)produce integrationist and assimilationist ideologies on immigrants, one-nation one-language ideology on multilingual changes of Korea, with a splash of pluralist perspective in discussing children of multicultural families as human capitals for the era of neo-liberal globalization, and patriarchal gender ideologies that emphasize the gendered responsibilities of immigrant women as wives, daughters-in-law, and mothers.

Chapter 6 investigated how the underlying ideologies in the policy discourse are reproduced and reinforced in the media representations by analyzing the well-known television program ‘Love in Asia’. The predominant voices in the construction of marriage immigrant women’s positioning in the media was the voices of Korean people including the narrator, husbands, in-law families, and the emcees while women’s voices were framed in reacting to their life experiences and to questions about their future plans to adjust to Korea or expressing their feelings in regards to the life events. Not only did the analysis illustrate the hegemonic ideologies the elite discourses of policy and media highlight, but it also showed spaces in which the construction of transnational selves can be represented yet backgrounded and defocused.

In Chapter 7, the complex and dynamic self-representations of marriage immigrant women were analyzed in relation the social positioning in larger discourses and ideologies. In the first part of the analysis, I examined how marriage immigrant women discursively construct transnational selves in interpreting, resisting, or challenging the integrationist ideologies. On one hand, their representations of selves were constructed directly in response to the media and policy discourses, which interacts with other symbolic capitals they possess (e.g., income, properties, education, nationality, social class, etc.). On the other hand, they built alternative worldviews by creating spaces to co-construct or reconstruct their identities as transnationals whose hybrid perspectives and life-experiences extend beyond national boundaries. The second part of the analysis described how they negotiate among different gendered identities imposed on them in specific contexts in enacting, performing, or resisting them. Their discursive constructions of gendered identity negotiations illustrated both how they exercise agency and how their agency is constrained depending on social contexts and symbolic capitals available to them. The analysis also showed the dynamic interplay of their transnational selves and gendered

identity negotiations, which functions as affordance as well as constraints in regards with gendered ideologies encountered in a new country.

8.2. Implications and Contributions of the Study

Building upon the current sociolinguistic literature with an ethnographic approach on immigrant women's gendered second language learning and socialization (Norton, 2000; Gordon, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009), which by and large have focused on English language learning, this study aims to add another dimension by providing the in-depth description and analyses of immigrant women learning the Korean language in the context of patriarchy-influenced and neo-liberally globalized South Korea. Unique to immigrant women's KSL socialization is the significance of the government's involvement, which contributes to the specific social and historic contexts of international marriage between Korean men and foreign women. While the Korean government explicitly reinforces one-nation one-language ideology in its top-down Korean language education policy, the findings of this study illustrate more dynamic and complex aspects of the women's language learning and socialization. That is, immigrant women choose different ways of interaction including both actively participating in learning using Korean or remaining silent depending on specific local institutional and relational contexts of interactions (e.g., who they are interacting with, where the interaction occurs, how the interaction positions them, what affordances and constraints are available to them in the local contexts, etc.). For instance, the participants of this research often discussed their performances as seemingly obedient daughters-in-law or wives in various ways; they choose to remain silent to avoid conflicts with husbands or in-law families despite their disagreement, or they pretended to be incompetent in Korean culture and language to avoid certain gender roles. Their storytelling

to Hyemin or the researcher, in contrast to their silence around the in-law members, explicitly demonstrates their stances to the given subject matters. On a surface level, therefore, one could conclude incorrectly that they are obedient, agreeable, or incompetent foreign women to be taught and assimilated into the ideologically Korean way of living; however, close analyses of their different interactional data illuminate their agency and hybrid identities that influence their discursive practices in Korean. The findings of this study thus illustrate the importance of triangulating data in various interactional contexts in order to achieve the holistic sociolinguistic understanding of immigrant women's gendered second language socialization.

Through the holistic understanding of immigrant women's second language socialization in Korea, this study aims to shed light on the dynamic and multidimensional nature of identities of transnational women in multicultural/multilingual spaces of Korea. While the powerful elite discourses highlight their integration into the host Korean society by learning Korean culture and language, the analyses of women's self-representations in this research as well as the backgrounded portrayal of their transnational practices in the media illuminate multilingual and hybrid spaces of their lives in Korea. The analyses of marriage immigrant women in this dissertation show how they utilize different linguistic and cultural resources in different contexts to obtain different interactive goals on a daily basis. For example, they communicate with other transnational women in Korean, English, or their L1 depending on the interlocutors or institutional settings, they talk to their families in their home countries with smart phones and computer, they watch both Korean and their home country television shows on Internet, and speak to their children in their L1 and switch to Korean when their husband is present, etc. In addition, their worldviews on various subject matters also illuminate the transnational spaces of their lives where they choose different linguistic and cultural resources that extend beyond

national boundaries and discursively construct transnational selves. To truly become a “multicultural society” as the Korean policy and media discourses claim to want to become, it is crucial to understand the transnational worldviews that immigrants have brought to Korea.

The findings also add to the body of poststructuralist literature on gendered identities in sociolinguistics (Norton, 2000; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko, 2001; Cameron, 2005; Menard-Warwick, 2009) by highlighting the diversity and agency in women’s discursive construction of gender. Not only did the women’s gendered identity constructions in this dissertation showed clear resistance against the imposed gender ideologies, but they also illuminated delicate maneuvering among different gendered identities when their agency is constrained by the social contexts. In addition, their gendered identities were constituted and claimed differently depending on other elements of their social identities such as income, education, L1/C1, nationality, ethnicity, religion, and so forth, which resonates with findings of other research in the field. Despite the similarity in their gendered positioning as wives, daughters-in-law, and mothers, which resonates with what other non-immigrant Korean women experiences as well in the patriarchal spaces of Korea, for instance, Youngbee’s identity construction greatly differs from Eunhee’s. Youngbee represents herself as an elite upper class woman. She resists her in-law families’ othering and imposition of gender ideology more explicitly and aggressively to her husband since the nature of their marriage gives her an equal voice to her husband. On the other hand, Eunhee lacks economic and economic capital both in Korea and back in Cambodia, and her life in Korea depends on her husband more as she moved to Korea solely for her marriage. Her voice was ignored for a long time until she took an extreme measure of leaving the house, which eventually brought some positive change to her situation, but failed to change her husband’s behavior afterwards. To conclude, this dissertation aims to

highlight the diversity among immigrant women in Korea, who are not a homogenous group. Positioning them as homogenously poor, uneducated, and in pursuit of economic opportunities in Korea, therefore, erases their diverse social identities and reduces them to their race and gender (Yang, 2007; Oh & Lee, 2011). In other words, monolithic portrayals of immigrant women as assimilatable and obedient wives, daughters-in-law, and mothers who are willing to absorb the imposed ideologies in a new community to transform to ideologically perfect Korean women fails to capture their actual life experiences as transnationals and their dynamic second language socialization process in Korea. This dissertation thus hopes to contribute to the field by providing diverse, dynamic, and complicated dimensions of their second language socialization that enact, perform, negotiate, appropriate, resist, and challenge larger discourses imposed on them to different degrees depending on the given social and interactional contexts.

Finally, this study problematizes the current worldviews and ideologies on immigrant women in policy and media discourses of Korea by illuminating the de-emphasized transnational nature of marriage immigrant women's lives in Korea and ultimately hopes to contribute to better representing their voices in the nation-state decision-making processes of multicultural policies and changing the current discourses about them. The findings of this dissertation illustrated the discrepancy between the one nation-one language, integrationist ideologies in policy, and monolithic media discourse with the more complicated and hybrid discursive practices of immigrant women as transnationals living in Korea. In spite of the frequent claim to become a 'multicultural society' (*tamwunhwa sahoi*) in the era of globalization in policy and media, the nation-state discourses focus on Koreanizing immigrants and eradicating diverse worldviews and resources they bring to Korea. In so doing, the policy and media discourses are marking and othering immigrants and their multiracial and multilingual families from entitled

‘Koreans,’ which consequently fails the current goals of the multicultural policy of Korea, which is social unity. Better societal understandings of multiculturalism and transnationalism, therefore, can eventually contribute to establishing discourses that celebrate and embrace diverse ways of living as well as pluralistic values that today’s globalized and transnational Korea are encountering.

8.3. Directions for Future Research

In concluding this dissertation, I discuss the areas that deserve more exploration in future research to obtain a better understanding of transnational women’s second language learning and socialization in Korea. The current study presented an example of the interplay of hegemonic ideologies in discourses and self-construction of women’s hybrid identities in a specific context of a single advanced-level classroom in the Suburb County of the Insan City whose population is a mixture of well-paid major corporation employees and local farmers. That is, many of the participants in this study are relatively more privileged middle-class women with higher income and educational backgrounds, which leads to more resources to exercise their agency than immigrant women who cannot afford to continue their language learning as their lives are more strictly limited to their gendered responsibilities as daughters-in-law, wives, and mothers at home (Norton, 2000). An important focus for the future research, therefore, would be investigating marriage immigrant women in different social and institutional contexts to learn about the similarities and differences in their second language socialization.

First, a wider variety of data from women outside the classroom settings will give insights into second language socialization and identity constructions of marriage immigrant women in more diverse socioeconomic, regional, and institutional contexts. For example, those

who cannot afford to attend classes and continue learning due to geographical, economical, and familial reasons were accordingly excluded from the scope of this dissertation. Considering the more limited time and space those women have to use, future research may be case studies in their home environments and workplaces or narrative studies with the interview data from different participants. It will further shed light on the diversity among marriage immigrant women as well as more clearly illuminate the constraints on their agency given the social contexts of their lives in Korea. Also, investigating second language socialization of immigrant women in the beginning-level Korean language classrooms can draw attention to other issues for the social positioning and identity constructions of newly arrived immigrant women with less exposure to Korean culture and less social capital in a new community. In terms of data collection and analysis, the research should triangulate data in women's L1 more extensively to better understand the participants' insights. In-depth description of marriage immigrant women with different amounts of time and experiences in Korea will grant more longitudinal and multidimensional perspectives to this type of research.

While adding other dimensions of marriage immigrant women's second language socialization in Korea, I would also like to deepen and expand the scope of this study by exploring other interactional contexts with the same participants. This study presented the participants' discursive constructions in classrooms with Hyemin and the peer, group talks at a coffee shop, and interviews with the researcher. Investigating interactions with different interlocutors in different social contexts such as at home with husbands, children, and in-law families, at work with colleagues, supervisors, and other transnationals or Koreans, and at social gatherings with friends (e.g., Korean classmates, other transnational women, baseball team of

multicultural families, etc.,) and neighbors, can illuminate the actual language use and multifaceted identities of transnationals in multilingual spaces of their daily lives in Korea.

APPENDIX 1. CONSENT FORMS

Oral script for agreement to participate in Korean as a Second Language Study

Primary Investigator: Jae Rim Yoon

This study wants to learn how you communicate in Korean classrooms and what is important for you to live and learn Korean in Korea. The study also focuses on how women from different cultures with different languages communicate with each other using Korean; what kinds of resources are used for multicultural communication among immigrant women in Korea. I will audio-record classroom conversations while taking notes and audio-record the interviews with me.

Your permission will allow me to access to audio-recordings of your conversations in Korean class, audio-recordings of group conversations, and one or two audio-recorded interviews with me. Interview questions will focus on your Korean learning and living experiences in Korea. Each interview will last no longer than one hour. The classroom conversations will help the researcher better understand what is used among Korean learners in order to communicate with others from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and the interviews will tell the researcher what is important to improve the quality of life of immigrant women in Korea. I will be recording and interviewing for three months both in classrooms and during the group conversations. Approximately 20 people will participant in the study.

To protect your identity, I will use a pseudonym rather than your real name. All research records will be stored in secure file in my place and kept secret. After I write down all the conversations in the recordings, I will keep the written data and short audio clips for academic purposes such as conference presentations. All confidentiality will be maintained strictly and the recordings will be destroyed upon the completion of the research project.

If you feel uncomfortable with me being in class, you can tell your teacher and I will leave the site. I may not record or be in class when the person who feels uncomfortable attends class. You could also feel discomfort by being asked personal questions. If you feel some questions are too personal or uncomfortable to answer, you have the right to refuse to discuss such topics.

Participating in this research may be of no direct benefit to you other than having an opportunity to express your beliefs and feelings about your own experiences. It is believed, however, the results from this research will contribute to better understanding of immigrant women's Korean learning and living. This study may possibly contribute to developing effective ways of teaching Korean to immigrant women and shed a light on multicultural policy in Korea. As compensation, you will receive \$10 for an hour-long interview sessions or a gift of the equivalent value. I will also assist during the class sessions and other educational activities.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you have the right to listen to, watch, edit, and withdraw any part of the recordings. You are free to withdraw from participation at any time during the project without any penalty or loss of benefit.

If you have any questions regarding the research during or after the project, please contact the researcher, Jae Rim Yoon, at (my email address), (my phone number in the USA), or (my phone number in Korea).

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Hawaii Committee on Human Studies at 001-808-956-5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu. Thank you.

연구 참가 구두 동의서: 이주여성 한국어 교육

연구자: 윤재림

이 연구는 한국에 와서 결혼해서 사시는 여러분들이 한국어를 공부하고 서로 이야기하는 것에 대해 배우려고 합니다. 한국에서 사시는 동안 좋은 점과 어려운 점, 각자 다른 나라에서 오신 분들이 한국어 수업에서 서로 어떤 이야기를 주고받는 지를 알고자 합니다. 그래서 수업 시간 대화를 녹음하고, 나중에는 여러분과 인터뷰처럼 사는 이야기도 하려고 합니다.

제 연구를 허락해 주시면 수업과 시간이 되시는 분들이 가끔 모여서 대화하는 모습을 녹음하려고 합니다. 저랑 한 시간 정도 인터뷰를 할 수도 있습니다. 인터뷰는 평소에 이야기하는 것처럼 한국에 사시면서 있었던 일들과 여러분의 생각에 대해서 대화를 하는 것입니다. 제가 여러분께 중요한 게 뭔지를 배우기 위해서 여러분의 생각을 듣고 싶어서요. 그리고 한국어 수업 녹음은 다른 나라에서 오신 분들이 한국어로 이야기하고 자신의 생각을 말하는 실제 내용이 필요해서 하는 것입니다. 제 생각이 아니라 여러분들이 직접 하시는 말로 한국에 이민 오신 여성분들께 어떤 것들이 중요한 지 알리고 싶어서요. 녹음과 인터뷰는 여름 석 달 동안 할 거예요.

여러분들의 성함이나 개인 정보를 보호하기 위해서 제 연구에는 진짜 이름이 아닌 가짜 이름을 씁니다. 도시 이름, 센터 이름, 여러분 이름 전부 가짜 이름을 쓰고 녹음 자료들은 저희 집에 안전하게 저장해 둔 채로 저만 듣고 받아 적을 것입니다. 그 후에는 학회 발표 때 필요한 짧은 녹음 자료만 빼고 다른 자료들은 없앨 것입니다. 녹음 자료들은 다 받아 적고 나서 지우고, 다른 자료들도 연구가 끝나면 지우겠습니다.

녹음된 내용이 여러분께 해가 될 일은 없을 거라고 생각합니다. 시간이 될 때 이야기를 하고 싶은 분들의 이야기를 녹음할텐데 만약 녹음이나 제가 있는 게 불편하시면 녹음기만 다른 분들 앞에 놓고 저는 나가겠습니다. 아니면 불편하신 분께서 계시는 날은 녹음을 하지 않을 수도 있습니다. 수업에 오시는 게 자유인 것처럼 연구 허락과 거부도 자유니까 선생님께 말씀하시면 제가 그 분이 계실 때는 나가겠습니다. 마지막으로, 인터뷰 중에 개인적인 이야기가 불편하게 느껴지시는 경우가 있으면, 그런 주제들은 대답하지 않으셔도 됩니다.

이 연구를 허락해주시는 것이 여러분께 직접적인 혜택을 드리지는 못할 수도 있습니다. 하지만, 한국에 사시면서 느꼈던 것들을 터놓고 이야기할 곳이 필요하시면 제가 들어드리겠습니다. 그리고 직접적인 혜택이 여러분께는 가지 않더라도, 이 연구가 앞으로 한국에 사는 이주 여성분들을 가르치는 한국어 선생님들과 프로그램에 도움을 줄 수 있을

것이라고 생각합니다. 이주 여성분들을 대상으로 하는 다문화 정책에 여러분들의 목소리가 들리도록 노력도 할 것입니다. 감사의 표시로 적지만 한 시간 인터뷰를 하시거나 모여서 대화를 하실 때마다 10,000 원이나 그에 상응하는 선물을 드릴 예정입니다. 그리고 한국어 수업과 센터 행사에서 여러분을 도와 드리겠습니다.

연구 참가는 하고 싶지 않으면 안 하셔도 아무 상관 없습니다. 아시겠지만, 수업이나 다른 혜택에 전혀 영향을 안 미칠 거고요. 제가 녹음한 것들은 원하시면 다 들어보실 수 있습니다. 바꾸거나 지우기를 원하시는 것이 있으면 언제든지 말씀해 주세요. 연구 도중 참가를 그만 두고 싶으셔도 아무 불이익 없이 그만 두실 수 있습니다.

질문이 있으시면 언제든지 저에게 연락 주세요. 제 전화 번호는 (my phone number in Korea)고, 이메일 주소는 (my email address)입니다.

연구 참가자로서의 권리에 대해 질문이 있으시면 하와이 주립 대학교 Committee on Human Studies 로 연락하시면 됩니다. 전화 번호는 001-808-956-5007 이고 이메일 주소는 uhirb@hawaii.edu 입니다. 감사합니다.

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
“Ethnographic Discourse Analysis of Immigrant Women in Korean as a Second Language
Classroom”

Researcher: Jae Rim Yoon

This dissertation research aims to investigate what resources are used for multicultural communication among immigrant women in Korean classrooms and how the immigrant women interpret their Korean learning experiences. The data will consist of audio recordings of Korean classes and interviews, and field notes from observation.

Participation in the project will consist of consent to audio-recordings of your conversations in Korean classes and one or two audio-recorded interviews with the investigator. Interview questions will focus on your experience of learning the Korean language and living in Korea. Each interview will last no longer than one hour. The data from the classroom conversations will help the researcher better understand what resources are useful in teaching and learning Korean as a second language, and the interview data will tell the researcher what is important and needed to improve the quality of life of immigrant women in Korea. The research will take place from May 16th 2013 for three months.

To protect your identity, I will use a pseudonym rather than your real name. All research records will be stored in secure file in the investigator’s residence and kept confidential. After I have transcribed the recordings, I will keep the transcribed data indefinitely for the purpose of academic venues and small excerpts of video for the academic purpose such as conference presentations. All confidentiality will be maintained strictly and the recordings will be destroyed upon the completion of the research project. There is possibility that you may feel discomfort by being asked personal questions. If you feel some questions are too personal or uncomfortable to answer, you have the right to refuse to discuss such topics.

Participating in this research may be of no direct benefit to you other than having an opportunity to express your beliefs and feelings about your own learning and living experiences. It is believed, however, the results from this research will contribute to better understanding of immigrant women’s experience in learning Korean and living in Korea. This study may possibly contribute to developing effective ways of teaching Korean to immigrant women and shed a light on multicultural policies in Korea. As compensation for your participation in the research project, you will receive \$10 or an equivalent gift for an hour-long interview sessions. I will also assist with your class and other activities during the project.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you have the right to listen to, watch, edit, and withdraw any part of the recordings. You are free to withdraw from participation at any time during the project without any penalty or loss of benefit.

If you have any questions regarding the research during or after the project, please contact the researcher, Jae Rim Yoon, at (my email address), at (my phone number in the USA),

or at (my phone number in Korea). If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Hawaii Committee on Human Studies at 001-808-956-5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu. Thank you.

Copy to Researcher

Copy to Participant

I certify that I have read and understand the above information, and agree to participate in this research project.

(print your name)

(date)

(signature)

APPENDIX 2. THE MULTICULTURAL FAMILIES SUPPORT ACT:

ARTICLE 1

다문화가족지원법

[시행 2014.1.1.] [법률 제 12079 호, 2013.8.13., 일부개정]

여성가족부(다문화가족정책과) 02-2100-6362

제 1 조(목적) 이 법은 다문화가족 구성원이 안정적인 가족생활을 영위할 수 있도록 함으로써 이들의 삶의 질 향상과 사회통합에 이바지함을 목적으로 한다.

제 1 조(목적) 이 법은 다문화가족 구성원이 안정적인 가족생활을 영위하고 사회구성원으로서의 역할과 책임을 다할 수 있도록 함으로써 이들의 삶의 질 향상과 사회통합에 이바지함을 목적으로 한다. <개정 2015.12.22.>

[시행일 : 2016.3.23.] 제 1 조

APPENDIX 3. LIFE CYCLE SUPPORT PLAN IN KOREAN ORIGINAL

기본방향 다문화가족을 위한 가족교육·상담·문화 프로그램 등 서비스 제공을 통해 결혼이민자의 한국사회 조기적응 및 다문화가족의 안정적인 가족생활 지원

1 단계 : 입국 전 결혼준비기

1. 국제결혼 과정의 인권보호와 교육프로그램

+ 결혼중개업의 관리에 관한 법률 제·개정 시행

국제결혼중개업 등록제 시행('08 년)

결혼중개계약서 작성 및 중개업자의 신상정보 사전제공 의무화('10 년)

18 세미만 및 집단맞선 소개 금지, 국제결혼중개업 등록시 자본금 요건(1 억원 이상) 상향('12 년)

국제결혼 중개행위 관련 외국 현지형사법령 등 위반 시 결혼중개업 운영 3 년간 금지('13 년)

국제결혼 실태조사 3 년단위 실시('14 년)

결혼중개업체에 표준약관(계약서 포함) 권장, 국제결혼중개업자의 자본금 상시 보유요건 명시('15 년)

국제결혼중개 손해배상 입증책임을 국제결혼중개업자에게 부과('16 년)

+ 결혼중개업자 전문지식 및 윤리의식 향상교육 실시

결혼중개업제도, 인권보호, 소비자보호, 상담실무 등을 교육

+ 결혼이민(예정)자 현지사전교육 운영의 내실화

베트남, 몽골, 필리핀, 캄보디아 현지에서 표준교재(한국문화, 한국어 등)를 활용한 한국입국 전 정보제공

(4 개국 6 개소 실시)

2 단계 : 입국초 가족관계 형성기

1. 결혼이민자의 조기적응 및 안정적 생활지원

+ 한국어교육, 다문화가족통합교육, 다문화가족 취업연계 및 교육지원, 개인·가족상담 등 종합 서비스 제공

+ 다국어판 생활·정책 정보 매거진(Rainbow+, 연 4 회), 한국생활 가이드북,

다문화가족지원 포털 '다누리' 운영 등 한국생활 정보 제공

2. 다양한 매체를 통한 한국어교육

+ 전국 시·군·구에서 집합 한국어교육 실시(다문화가족지원센터 등에서 운영 실시)

※ 정규과정(1~4 단계), 중도입국자녀반, 특별반(한국어 심화과정 등) 운영

+ 다문화가족지원센터에서 한국어 방문교육 실시

※ 2015 년 한국어교육지도사(937 명)가 다문화가족 6,648 명 지원

3. 위기개입 및 가족통합교육 실시

+ 가정폭력 피해 상담·보호를 위해 다누리콜센터 1577-1366 및 전용쉼터, 법률구조기관 등 관련기관간 연계 강화

+ 다문화가족의 생활 적응과정에서 발생하는 각종 고충상담 및 생활정보 제공을 위해 다누리콜센터를

‘11.6 월부터 운영

- 다문화가족과 이주여성에게 각종 한국생활정보 안내 및 폭력피해 접수·상담 지원을 위해 다누리콜센터와

이주여성긴급지원센터(1577-1366)를 2014.4 월부터 다누리콜센터 1577-1366 으로 통합운영(원스톱 서비스)

※ 다누리콜센터(1577-1366) 13 개 언어, 365 일, 24 시간 지원, 이주여성쉼터 24 개소 운영

+ 다문화가족(이혼가족 포함)의 개인·가족 상담

+ 다문화가족구성원 간 가족 내 역할 및 가족문화에 대한 이해 향상을 위한 가족통합교육 추진

3 단계 : 자녀양육 및 정착기

1. 다문화가족 자녀의 양육·교육 지원

+ 부모의 자녀 양육 능력 향상을 위해 부모교육서비스 실시

+ 학업성취가 낮고 자아·정서·사회성 발달에서 어려움을 겪고 있는 다문화가족 자녀에게 자녀생활서비스 실시

+ 다문화가족 자녀 언어발달 지원

- 언어발달 진단, 교육 프로그램 제공 (언어발달지도사 300 여명)

- 센터 내 다문화 언어교실 개설 및 보육시설 파견서비스 제공

+ 이중언어가족환경조성사업 지원

- 다문화가족 자녀가 한국어와 함께 결혼이민자 부모의 언어를 자연스럽게 쓸 수 있도록 지원하는

「다문화가족 이중언어가족조성사업」 실시

+ 다문화가족 학령기 자녀 및 부모 대상 자녀 성장 지원 프로그램 "多재多능" 실시('16 년~, 81 개소)

- 다문화가족 자녀의 정체성 회복, 사회성·리더십 개발을 위한 프로그램 제공

4 단계 : 역량 강화기

1. 다문화가족의 경제·사회적 자립 지원

+ 다문화가족 취업연계 및 취업기초소양교육 실시

+ 결혼이민자 적합직종개발 및 직업교육훈련 실시

- 통·번역사, 진료 코디네이터 등 결혼이민자 적합 직종 개발

- 결혼이민여성 특성·선호 및 인력수요 등 고려한 직업훈련 및 직장 적응할 수 있는 인턴기회 제공

- + 자조모임 및 봉사단 등 운영지원
 - 국가별 자조모임 및 일반가족과 함께하는 나눔봉사단 등 운영지원

전단계 : 다문화 역량강화

1. 대국민 인식개선 및 홍보

- + 다문화가족 모니터링단 운영
- + 다문화가족지원 포털사이트 '다누리' 운영 지원
- + 다문화 인식개선을 위한 콘텐츠 개발 및 보급

2. 다문화가족 실태조사 실시 (다문화가족지원법 제 4 조)

- + 전국규모의 다문화가족 실태를 조사·분석해 정책수립에 필요한 기초통계자료 확보 및 맞춤형 서비스 개발
- + 조사항목 (다문화가족지원법 시행규칙 제 2 조제 3 항)
 - 성별, 연령, 학력, 취업상태 등 가족구성원의 일반 특성에 관한 사항
 - 소득, 지출, 자산 등 가족의 경제 상태에 관한 사항
 - 자녀양육, 가족부양 등 가족행태 및 가족관계에 관한 사항
 - 가족갈등 등 가족문제에 관한 사항
 - 다문화가족 지원관련 교육·상담 등 서비스 수요에 관한 사항
 - 그 밖에 다문화가족의 현황 및 실태파악에 필요한 사항

APPENDIX 4. THE 2015 MULTICULTURAL FAMILY PLAN (pp.9-11)

(4) 결혼이민자의 사회경제적 진출 확대(17개 과제)

□ 결혼이민자의 일자리 확대(여가부, 복지부, 고용부, 행자부)

○ 국내 거주하는 외국인 대상 의료코디네이터 양성 및 의료기관 인턴십 연계.취업 정보제공 등

* 외국인 의료코디네이터 양성인력 배출(연간 110시간 교육, 4개국 26명)

○ 자치단체 주도로 결혼이민자 맞춤형 취업지원 프로그램을 개발하고, 중앙 부처가 재정지원.컨설팅 등을 지원

* (고용부) '14년 지역맞춤형 일자리창출 지원사업 : 7개사업, 513백만원

* (행자부) 다문화가정 지원사업 및 여성활용사업 : 812명

○ 결혼이민자 등 취약계층 등을 채용하여 사회서비스를 제공하는 (예비)사회적기업에 취약계층 인건비 및 사회보험료 지원

* 1인당 지원단가 : 1,271천원(연차별 차등지원)

○ 결혼이민자 구직희망 명단 풀 활용, 고용센터에서 반듯한 시간제 일자리 적극 취업알선 및 시간제 근로자를 채용하는 사업주에게 인건비 지원

* '14년 지원실적 : 1,534개소 4,577명 승인, 285개소 컨설팅 실시

○ 결혼이민자에 대한 취업지원 서비스를 민간에 위탁하여 결혼이민자에 대한 취업상담, 일자리 알선, 직업훈련 등 제공

* '14년 지원실적 : 8개기관에 위탁, 1,834명 취업알선

○ 결혼이주민, 다문화자녀 등을 대상으로 무역실무교육을 실시, 무역 마케팅 전문가로 양성하는 다문화 무역인 육성사업 실시

* '14년 총 125명 선발.육성, 63명 취.창업

□ 직업교육훈련 지원(고용부, 여가부, 농식품부)

○ 내일배움카드제 등을 활용하여 결혼이민자에게 직업훈련 기회 제공

* '14년 특화훈련과정 : 6개과정 1,478명 지원

○ 여성새로일하기센터에서 결혼이민여성 특화과정프로그램 운영

* '14년 특화과정 운영실적 : 38개 프로그램 815명

○ 결혼이민여성이 취업 후 직장에 적응할 수 있도록 여성새로일하기센터에서 결혼이민여성 대상 인턴제 운영

* '14년 실적 : 644명 인턴 연계, 1인당 300만원 한도 지원금 지급

○ 결혼이민여성 정착단계별로 '기초농업교육' 및 전문여성농업인을 멘토로 연계한 '1:1맞춤형 농업교육' 실시

* '14년 이민여성 농업교육 및 농촌정착지원과정 운영실적 : 2,818명

□ 결혼이민자 역량 개발(여가부, 행자부, 경찰청)

○ 지역사회에 성공적으로 정착한 결혼이주여성을 출신국 새내기 이주자의 정착 도우미로 활용가능토록 지역사회 지도자로 양성

* '14년 전국다문화 지도자 육성 : 1,027명

○ 결혼이주여성 등 국내 체류외국인을 대상으로 운전면허교육 전문 강사 및 통역요원 활용, 운전면허 취득을 위한 학과교육 실시 확대

* '14년 운전면허교실 운영실적 : 124개 관서, 학과합격 3,771명, 면허취득 1,745명

□ 사회참여 확대(여가부, 행자부, 법무부)

○ 중앙 및 지자체별 외국인주민지원 민관협의회 구성* 등 결혼이민자 참여 확대로 지역사회 조기정착 및 지역사회 통합에 기여

* 지원협의회 구성현황 : ('13년) 115개→('14년) 125개

○ 결혼이민자가 참여하는 비영리민간단체의 자발적인 공익활동 보장 및 건전한 민간 단체로의 성장 지원

* '14년 지원실적 : 7개사업 313백만원 지원

○ 다문화가족지원센터별로 시.군.구 및 민간단체 등과 협력하여 다문화가족 나눔 봉사단 구성.운영

* '14년 자원봉사자 소양교육 : 211개소 5,123명

○ 다문화가족간 자조모임 구축을 위해 다문화가족 자조모임 운영 매뉴얼 제작.배포 및 국적별.지역별 이민자 네트워크 운영 활성화

* 다문화가족 자조모임 운영현황 : 211개, 20,936명

* 국내정착 성공한 결혼이민자 명예출입국관리공무원으로 위촉 : 127 명__

APPENDIX 5. THE IMMIGRATION CONTROL LAW:

Article 9-5 Clause 1 Number 6

제 9 조의 5(결혼동거 목적의 사증 발급 기준 등) ① 제 9 조의 4 제 1 항에 따라 결혼동거 목적의 사증 발급 신청을 받은 재외공관의 장은 혼인의 진정성 및 정상적인 결혼 생활의 가능성 여부를 판단하기 위하여 제 9 조의 2 각 호(제 5 호는 제외한다) 외에도 사증 발급을 신청한 외국인과 그 초청인에 대하여 다음 각 호의 요건을 심사·확인할 수 있다. 다만, 초청인과 피초청인 사이에 출생한 자녀가 있는 경우 등 법무부장관이 정하는 경우에 해당하면 다음 각 호의 요건 중 일부에 대한 심사를 면제할 수 있다. <개정 2013.10.10., 2015.6.15.>

1. 교제경위 및 혼인의사 여부
2. 당사국의 법령에 따른 혼인의 성립 여부
3. 초청인이 최근 5 년 이내에 다른 배우자를 초청한 사실이 있는지 여부
4. 초청인이 「국민기초생활 보장법」 제 2 조제 11 호에 따른 기준 중위소득을 고려하여 법무부장관이 매년 정하여 고시하는 소득 요건을 충족하였는지 여부
5. 건강상태 및 범죄경력 정보 등의 상호 제공 여부
6. 피초청인이 기초 수준 이상의 한국어 구사가 가능한지 여부. 이 경우 구체적인 심사·확인 기준은 법무부장관이 정하여 고시한다.
7. 부부가 함께 지속적으로 거주할 수 있는 정상적인 주거공간의 확보 여부. 이 경우 고시원, 모텔, 비닐하우스 등 일반적으로 부부가 함께 지속적으로 거주할 수 있는 장소로 보기 어려운 곳은 정상적인 주거 공간이 확보된 것으로 보지 아니한다.
8. 초청인이 「국적법」 제 6 조제 2 항제 1 호 또는 제 2 호에 따라 국적을 취득하거나 영 별표 1 28 의 3. 영주(F-5) 나목에 따라 영주자격을 취득하고 3 년이 경과하였는지 여부

② 재외공관의 장은 제 1 항 각 호의 요건을 심사·확인하기 위하여 필요할 때에는 초청인의 주소지를 관할하는 사무소장 또는 출장소장(이하 "주소지 관할 사무소장 또는 출장소장"이라 한다)에게 사실관계의 확인을 요청할 수 있다. <개정 2011.12.23.>

③ 제 1 항 각 호의 요건을 심사·확인한 결과에 따라 사증 발급이 허가되지 않은 경우 해당 신청인은 그 배우자와 혼인의 진정성 등을 재고(再考)하여 허가되지 않은 날부터 6 개월이 경과한 후에 사증 발급을 다시 신청할 수 있다. 다만, 출산이나 그 밖에 국내에 입국하여야 할 급박한 사정이 있는 경우에는 6 개월이 경과하지 아니한 경우에도 신청할 수 있다.

[본조신설 2011.3.7.]

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